The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

MANY tributes have been paid to the life and work of Leslie J. Tizard to whose death we made a brief reference in our last issue, notably in *The Times*, *The Christian World* and more intimately in *Vanguard*, the journal of the Warwickshire County Union and the Carr's Lane *Journal*, whose January number contains the sermon preached at the memorial service by Dr. Sydney M. Berry, one of his predecessors in the notable succession of ministers of that great church.

His editorship of *The Congregational Quarterly* was brief but reflected his profound interest in the service to young people made possible by present day psychology. At one time he contemplated devoting himself entirely to work among adolescents, especially delinquent youths, and there can be no doubt that he would have made a notable contribution to that service, whose importance is recognised more widely now than it was then. But he could not leave the ministry of the Church, and he became one of the outstanding preachers of his time.

We well remember our first acquaintance with him when, shortly after beginning his ministry at Carr's Lane, he came to preach at the anniversary of the Manchester Congregational Board. Here to us in Manchester was a new voice of evangelical authority, a mind of singular clarity, an erudition that ranged from the classics to the current reviews, and an integrity, intellectual and spiritual, which pervaded all that he said and clearly was. In the following years those qualities were more and more widely recognized.

Lord Grey of Falloden in a speech to the Oxford Union when he was Foreign Secretary commended integrity in speech as one of the chief responsibilities of public men. In presenting a case or advocating a cause the temptation to exaggerate, to add a little here and subtract a little there for the sake of temporary effectiveness, to distort the truth as the speaker knew it could often be strong, but was to be resisted for the sake of the hearers, the speaker and truth itself. Listening to Tizard one felt the impact of that integrity of mind as he declared the Gospel by which he lived. We are the richer for his testimony and made more courageous by his example.

The Free Churches have suffered another great loss by the death of Dr. T. W. Manson at the age of 64, who, as *The Times* observed, will be sadly missed by many of all denominations and none. He was universally recognised as one of the great New Testament scholars of our time, and his distinctions were many. We Congregationalists were much indebted to him for his service as professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis at Mansfield College from 1932 to 1936, when he became Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester where generations of Lancashire College students sat under him.

Apart from his contributions to New Testament scholarship his *The Church's Ministry* was a valiant defence of the evangelical view of the ministry, and though he always retained a rigorous Presbyterian emphasis his tolerant interest accommodated itself to the existence in the Church of many views which he himself did not accept. He thought our Congregational doctrine of the Church to be in some ways defective, but sympathized with it and represented the University on the governing committee of Lancashire College for many years.

For all his vast erudition he dwelt in no ivory tower. He knew the world and its need which only the Gospel could meet. He served as an officer in the Royal Artillery in the war of 1914-1918 and was wounded in France. He had great depths of friendliness and a wit that made his speeches as Presenter of Honorary Graduands a delight. His grasp of the saving truth of God's abounding grace revealed in Jesus Christ was never in doubt. Those who heard his address to the Assembly of the Union in May 1953[1] on 'The Bible in the Contemporary Situation' will not forget his closing sentences ;

> The significance of the Bible in the world today is that it continues to say those things which it said from the beginning, that there is a God, and that God does speak to men and women in a way they can understand . . . You may try to translate it into terms that our own generation can understand, but it must be translation and not free composition . . .
>
> I know it is very strange that the love and knowledge of the glory of God should shine out from that bruised and bloodspattered face. It is very strange indeed, but it is true, and it is a final and inescapable truth ; and our whole business is to learn it for ourselves and pass it on to the men and women of our generation.

[1] *The Congregational Quarterly : October, 1953.*

Writing these notes in Wales we join all the more heartily in the greetings to Emeritus Professor the Rev. John Evans who was born on 5th May, 1858 and who on Sunday 18th May, 1958, conducted morning and evening services at the Phough United Congregational Church, Brecon. On his birthday the bells of the Parish church of St. Mary rang 1260 changes, and on the following Sunday the Mayor and Corporation led the congregation in procession to the morning service, which we are informed was televised. The evening service was broadcast, when the physical and intellectual vigour of the preacher and his singular grace of spirit were conveyed to a great congregation especially in Wales, where he has preached for 81 years, 70 of them as an ordained minister. His text was Romans 1.16.

In an interview with *The Manchester Guardian*, he declared of his preaching activities, " I jump over denominational hedges with the greatest of ease. I have found the saints much the same in them all. It's a pity we are so separated. I go to preach to the Baptists, and the Calvinists and the Methodists, but not to the Anglicans. Not yet, that is."

* * *

The liberal deviseth liberal things ; and by liberal things shall he stand. So declared Isaiah. And in that sense all Free Churchmen are liberals which is not to say, of course, that they are members or even supporters of the Liberal Party in present day politics.

Our own Dr. Micklem is the President of the Liberal Party Organization and has set out the hopes and prospects of the party in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for April.

Parliamentary government, even in this country, is less sound than is commonly thought, but merely to criticise the two great parties is not enough. The Liberal Party offers a policy based on the only kind of philosophy that Englishmen will accept leading to practical measures which could go a long way towards easing the tensions and perhaps curing the sickness of spirit which are overtaking the nation.

* * *

At a high level conference in Mexico during one of her financial crises it was suggested that the way out of their difficulties was to make war on the United States. " After we have lost the war " said the speaker, " the Americans will come in, give us aid, stabilize our currency and put us on our feet."

" But " interposed a more cautious voice, " suppose we *won* the war ?"

DEATH and the HEREAFTER in our HYMNS[1]

By K. L. Parry, B.Sc.

In his splendid book *And the Life Everlasting*, the finest study of the whole theme in our generation, Dr. John Baillie draws many of his illustrations from familiar hymns. In his chapter on 'The proper claims of earth' he quotes a well known hymn which speaks almost with contempt of this present world:

Here in the body pent
Absent from Him I roam,
Yet nightly pitch my moving tent
A day's march nearer home.

" I remember " he says " protesting that the word 'pent' was a slander on the body, which was much more and better than a prison, and that the words 'absent from Him' were a slander on this present life." There was another hymn which began

I'm but a stranger here,
Heaven is my home;
Earth is a desert drear,
Heaven is my home.

" Again I felt " he says " that something noble and beautiful was being defamed." And he ends as he began with a hymn—the familiar hymn in which Adelaide Anne Proctor thanks God for this bright and beautiful world 'so full of splendour and of joy', yet thanks Him also that 'all our joy is touched with pain'

So that earth's bliss may be our guide
And not our chain.

Thus our hymnbooks bear witness to our changing thought concerning the Last Things. It might be interesting and profitable to study our hymns as they deal with the Christian view of this world and the next.

It is a vast theme, and to get it into some kind of shape and proportion I shall restrict our enquiry for the most part to four hymnbooks used by Congregationalists which span the last hundred years; indeed they embrace a longer period because the *New Congregational Hymnbook*, published in 1859, is based upon Isaac Watts; so the period covered is two and a half centuries. Here then are our four books: *The New Congregational Hymnbook* published in 1859, with a Supple-

[1]The Drew Lecture, 1957, delivered at New College, London, and here printed by permission of the Trustees.

ment in 1874 ; Barrett's *Congregational Church Hymnal*, 1887 ; *The Congregational Hymnary*, 1916 ; and *Congregational Praise*, 1951.

The Table of Contents is itself significant of a changing emphasis. It is very difficult to make an exact analysis because the same hymn is sometimes to be found under different headings. But it is impossible to glance at the Table of Contents in the *New Congregational Hymnbook* without being impressed by the degree to which the people of that generation were obsessed with the sombre facts of death and judgment. It has the following titles : 'Man and his Mortality' (6 hymns) : 'His Probation' (10) ; 'Death and the Grave' (22) ; 'The Future Life' (16) ; 'Heaven' (12). Thus there are 66 hymns all dealing directly with death and the hereafter. Under 'Aspirations and Hopes', mostly concerned with the joys of heaven, generally against the background of the troubles and trials of this world, there are 16 hymns ; and 4 under 'Pilgrimage' all concerned with our 'travelling home to God'. The Supplement adds 17 under 'Pilgrimage : Hopes and Aspirations', and 3 for Christian Burial. Thus there are in all 94 hymns whose theme is death and the hereafter. The corresponding titles in Barrett are : 'Death' (4) ; 'Rest after Death' (4) ; 'Resurrection' (2) ; 'The Final Glory of Heaven' (5) ; 'The Communion of Saints' (4) ; 'Example, Victory and Reward of the Saints' (5) ; and no less than 10 for Burial. Under 'Aspiration and Hope', 'Pilgrimage and Guidance' (22), making 56 in all. The Titles in the Hymnary are 'Death and the Life to come' (14) ; 'The Communion of Saints' (7) ; 'Funeral and Burial' (11) making 32. Under 'Faith and Aspiration', 'Pilgrimage and Guidance' 37, making 69 in all. *Congregational Praise* has the comprehensive Title 'The Church Triumphant in Heaven and the Communion of Saints' (17) ; 'Funeral' (2) and no less than 69 under 'Faith and Aspiration', 'Pilgrimage and Conflict', making 88 in all.

In the total number of hymns with some reference to death and the hereafter we seem to have redressed the balance, but if we compare the *New Congregational Hymnbook* with *Congregational Praise* there is a change of tone ; the theme of Death and the Grave is less sombre ; there seems to be a reluctance to use the word Death. There is nothing left of the gloomy horror of death. G. K. Chesterton, in his book on William Blake, protests against people who 'talk about death being nothing than the mere walking into another room. " To talk like this " he says " is not only prosaic and pro-

HOLBROOK LIBRARY
PACIFIC SCHOOL

foundly un-Christian, it is decidedly vulgar. It is against the whole trend of the secret emotions of humanity. It is indecent, like persuading a decent peasant to go without his clothes." Bernard Manning makes the same complaint. He contrasts this kind of thing with the Burial Service in the *Book of Common Prayer* which " strikes the note of reality and the note of sincerity by admitting the pathos, the ugliness, the cruelty, yes, and the horror of death, the last enemy, the king of terrors." To Isaac Watts death was a solemn and an awful fact: " the monster death and all his powers."

Manning himself admits that 'a few estatic persons like St. Francis may be able to say sincerely " Welcome, sister death ". He says it in that splendid hymn 'All creatures of our God and King'

> And thou, most kind and gentle death,
> Waiting to hush our latest breath.

Wesley too can sing 'Oh lovely appearance of death'. But the most beautiful description of death is in that lovely verse by Henry Vaughan

> Dear beauteous death, the friend of the just,
> Shining nowhere but in the dark ;
> What mysteries lie beyond thy dust
> Could man outlook that mark.

Death is a solemn mystery to be treated with reverence but to those who know in Christ that it is a mystery of light, not of darkness, there can be no place for fear. Above all, as Richard Baxter says

> Christ leads me through no darker rooms
> Than He went through before.

If you compare Isaac Watts with our modern hymnbooks the most impressive change is the disappearance of Hell. The change begins to be manifest in the *New Congregational Hymnbook*. This is really a Supplement to Watts and what it leaves out is significant. Watts has some quite dreadful hymns on the horrors of eternal punishment and Hell.

> My thoughts on awful subjects roll
> Damnation and the dead ;
> What horrors seize the guilty soul
> Upon a dying bed.
>
> There swift and dreadful she descends
> Down to the fiery coast
> Amongst abominable fiends
> Herself a frightful ghost.

This is typical of many such hymns. There is a pathetic passage in Watts's *Discourses on the world to come* in which he wrestles with this dark problem. "Were I to pursue my enquiries into this doctrine only by the aids of the light of nature and reason, I fear my natural tenderness might warp me aside from the rules and demands of strict justice, and the wise and holy government of the great God. But as I confine myself almost entirely to the revelation of Scripture in all my searches into the things of revealed religion and Christianity, I am constrained to forget or to lay aside that softness and tenderness of animal nature, which might lead one astray, and to follow the unerring dictates of the Word of God." There is something very touching in this attempt of the 'gentle Watts' to reconcile his heart with the awful dictates of the Word of God. I remember Professor Coulton in a lecture once in Manchester on Roman Catholicism being very severe in his condemnation of the Papal doctrine of Hell and the appeal to fear which seemed to him a main feature of mediaeval religion. When we came to questions a young Catholic historian got up and asked quietly: 'Didn't the Puritans believe in Hell too?' Yes, it was an integral part of Christian doctrine, universally accepted, until when? The Editors of the *New Congregational Hymnbook* evidently had some qualms about it. They left out many hymns of this type. But not altogether.

> Great God on what a slender thread
> Hang everlasting things,
> The Eternal state of all the dead
> Upon life's feeble strings.
>
> Infinite joy or endless woe
> Attends on every breath,
> And yet how unconcerned we go
> Upon the brink of death.

H. G. Wood in his Dale Lectures on F. D. Maurice says that "the traditional doctrine of eternal punishment was already in the 1830's arousing grave disquietude in the Christian mind". He traces the change of emphasis to the Evangelical Revival which he says " dwelt much on the pleasantness of religion and the goodness of God, and made little use of hell-fire. The doctrine of eternal punishment in hell was not denied. In *Hymns for the people called Methodists* there is indeed a subsection describing hell, but it contains only one hymn and that does not describe hell, it insists on the desirability and possibility of escaping it." Certainly they did not deny it.

The *New Congregational Hymnbook* has a hymn by Charles Wesley : 'And am I born to die ?'

> Soon as from earth I go
> What will become of me ?
> Eternal happiness or woe
> Must then my portion be.

But there are far fewer hymns of this type in the *New Congregational Hymnbook* and we do not meet with them again. This may be an appropriate place therefore to make some reflections on the significance of the disappearance of this doctrine. What was wrong with the old belief in Hell was not its tremendous emphasis on the fact of sin and its incalculable consequence; there surely they were right. What was wrong, as it seems to us, was a sub-Christian idea of God. Hell is the awakening of the soul to the full blaze of God's eternal love and what could be worse than that to a soul that has outraged it ?

> O how shall I, whose native sphere
> Is dark, whose mind is dim,
> Before the ineffable appear,
> And on my naked spirit bear
> The uncreated beam ?

Watts was a very firm believer in the resurrection of the body.

> Up to the Lord my flesh shall fly
> At the great rising day.

The boldest description of the resurrection of the flesh is given in another of his hymns which is included in the *New Congregational Hymnbook.*

> And must this body die ?
> This mortal frame decay ?
> And must this active frame of mine
> Lie mouldering in the clay ?
>
> Corruption and the grave
> Shall but refine this flesh,
> Till my triumphant spirit come
> To put it on afresh.

The favourite hymn for funerals in the 18th century seems to have been Watts's hymn

> Hear what the voice from heaven proclaims
> For all the pious dead,
> Sweet is the savour of their names
> And soft their sleeping bed.

This survives as late as Barrett. Most of the hymns in Barrett for the Burial of the Dead speak of the body as sleeping in the tomb 'Until the Resurrection day'. I suppose the best known of all funeral hymns is Ellerton's 'Now the labourer's task is o'er'. It has survived even to the *B.B.C. Hymnbook.* It was not included in *Congregational Praise* because we felt that the last two lines of each verse

> Father in Thy gracious keeping
> Leave we now they servant sleeping

is an idea which seems unreal to most people today. There is a hymn by Bickersteth which speaks of the dead as already in the bliss of heaven

> Hush ! blessed are the dead
> In Jesu's arms who rest.

They see the light of light ; the Good Shepherd leads them in tranquil dewy meads ; and yet in the last verse :

> But soon at break of day
> His calm almighty voice
> Stronger than death shall say
> Awake, arise, rejoice.

There is a curious verse in Maclagan's 'The saints of God their conflicts past.' He describes their life in glory and then

> The saints of God their vigil keep
> While yet their mortals bodies sleep,
> Till from the dust they too shall rise
> And soar triumphant to the skies.

There are only two hymns for Funeral Services in *Congregational Praise* : Ellerton's 'God of the living in whose eyes', in which the idea of sleeping in the grave is deliberately rejected :

> Not spilt like water on the ground
> Not wrapped in dreamless sleep profound . . .
> Not dead but living unto Thee

The other is Hosmer's 'O Lord of life wher'er they be,' and here too the theme is 'our dead are living unto Thee.' Whittier's tender and poignant hymn 'When on my day of life the night is falling' is an attempt to escape altogether from mediaeval symbolism :

> I have but Thee, my Father : let Thy spirit
> Be with me then to comfort and uphold:
> No gate of pearl, no branch of palm I merit
> Nor street of shining gold.

There is no reference to the Last Day ; the increasing vision is a gradual one

> There, from the music round me stealing,
> I fain would learn the new and holy song,
> And find at last, beneath Thy trees of healing,
> The life for which I long.

The really striking feature in *Congregational Praise* is the list of alternative hymns for funeral services. They are all hymns which lift our thoughts to the redeeming love of Christ and the power of His resurrection: 'Jesus lives, thy terrors now'; 'The strife is o'er'; 'The Lord's my shepherd'; and Baxter's lovely hymn : 'Christ who knows all His sheep', with its exquisite closing lines :

> This soul in safety keep
> For Thou has bought it.

As we stand at the gates of death, it is surely right that our thoughts should be lifted to Him who is the Resurrection and the Life.

Thus the older hymns represent the body as sleeping in the grave till the last day. Later hymns represent the soul as passing through the gates of death to eternal life. As we have seen many of our funeral hymns express both ideas without reconciling them. Now the idea of the body resting in the grave until the Last Day seems to imply the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh. We have seen how crudely this idea is expressed in some of Watts's hymns. But the resurrection of the body does not mean the resurrection of the flesh, it means the survival of personality. But is there not still a significance in the Last Day in its bearing on personal immortality ? Dr. Baillie has a valuable comment to make upon this : " After my release from my present life I shall enter into the fulness of the joy of eternal life. And yet can my joy be full—while the company of the redeemed remains incomplete ? The Christian Church has steadily replied that it cannot—There can be no consummation for the individual until there is consummation for society." That, he says, is the real significance of the Last Day. This is beautifully expressed in 'For all the saints'

> But lo ! there breaks a yet more glorious day ;
> The saints triumphant rise in bright array ;
> The King of glory passes on His way :

From earth's wide bounds, from ocean's farthest coast,
Through gates of pearl streams in the countless host
Singing to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;
Alleluia.

In his Drew Lecture of two years ago 'The hope of glory'[2] Dr. Lovell Cocks sees one weakness in Liberal Protestantism that it discarded belief in the Second Coming of Christ. In a fine passage he says: "The last judgment and Final Consummation of all things are not subsidiary and peripheral features of the New Testament witness, they are central to it. We cannot hope to imagine the Second Coming. It is an event which is not an event since it is history's consummation not its continuation. The end of the world is not the last happening in a series of happenings but the inner meaning and ultimate significance of them all." The battle we must fight here, he says, is the same as the early Church fought against Gnosticism, "the right to believe that the all Powerful Creator is the all loving Redeemer. The great circle of creation is closed in the last judgment and the summing up of all things in Christ."

The most famous of all hymns on the Day of Judgment is the *Dies Irae* by Thomas of Celano, a Franciscan Friar in the 13th century.

Of this magnificent hymn, Dr. Millar Patrick says: "This hymn has been well declared the most sublime, beyond comparison, of the hymns of the Middle Ages. Its unsuitability for modern worship led to its exclusion in its full form from the present hymnary; it is represented only by three verses of Sir Walter Scott from the Lay of the Last Minstrel—sufficiently represented, for it is seldom sung. Its tone is too mediaeval; the literalness of its interpretation of the Last Things no longer expresses the faith or feeling of the Church." Yet it is one of the complaints of Bernard Manning against the *Congregational Hymnary* that it did not contain this famous hymn with those poignant words which always moved Doctor Johnson to tears

Faint and weary Thou hast sought me;
On the cross of suffering bought me;
Shall such grace be vainly brought me?

It is omitted from *Congregational Praise* and Barrett only found a place for it among the Chants. It is given in full in the *Methodist Hymn Book* and Dr. Gregory makes this

[2] *The Congregational Quarterly*, April, 1956.

comment: "Surely something is amiss if our generation can make no use of it. Even if it is seldom sung its value as devotional reading can hardly be over-estimated."

The difficulty surely is that the term 'wrath of God' is here used in a pre-Christian sense. Anger and vengeance are attributed to God. As Dr. Dodd says: "The idea of an angry God is a first attempt to rationalise the shuddering awe which men feel before the incalculable possibilities of appalling disaster inherent in life, but it is an attempt which breaks down as the rational element in religion advances. In the long run we cannot think with full consistency of God in terms of the highest human ideals of personality and yet attribute to Him the irrational passion of anger."

It was the feeling that this hymn, superb as it is, is inadequate to our way of thinking today which led Canon Dwelly of Liverpool to ask Dr. Russell Bowie to produce a modern version which would "express both the solemnity and the inspiration of the thought of Christ coming into our modern world in judgment." This was the origin of the hymn.

Lord Christ, when first Thou cam'st to men.

This is a noble attempt to express the truth that the disasters which come in judgment upon the world are due to an outrage against that 'aweful love' which to all Christians is the ultimate reality. As Dr. Temple once said, "if it be true that God is love, then it is an awful truth, for it means that all that is contrary to love is damned." Yet the Christian message is not that God is love, as an abstract principle, but that God loves, with a love that was revealed on the cross and the God who loves us in Christ is the King of Creation. So Bowie can say,

O wounded hands of Jesus, build
In us Thy new creation;

O love that triumphs over loss,
We bring our hearts before Thy Cross,
To finish Thy salvation.

Most of the early hymns on the Second Coming have fallen out of use because of their crude literalism. But there are two classics which remain—'Sleepers Wake,' and 'Lo! He comes with clouds descending.' Philip Nicolai's magnificent hymn 'Wake, O wake with tidings thrilling' was written during a time of pestilence when people were dying by the hundred around him and he found strength and comfort in the thought of the coming City of God and the glory of its

King. Millar Patrick well says that 'the sustained majesty of the conception of the hymn which he wrote under this inspiration and the incomparable grandeur of its tune which has been called 'the king of Chorales' place it among the very greatest of the church's hymns." 'Lo ! He comes' has been called the English *Dies Irae.*

In his book to which we have referred *And the Life Everlasting,* Dr. Baillie devotes a whole chapter to what he calls " the proper claims of earth." According to the traditional view the life on earth was of importance only as a preparation for eternity, and the only interest and occupation of eternity was the worship of God. He quotes as an example of this attitude a verse of one of Watts's hymns :

> Look how we grovel here below
> Fond of these earthly toys,
> Our souls how heavily they go,
> To reach eternal joys.

" It is precisely to this characterization of his earthly preoccupations as toys that the modern man so strenuously objects. Michelangelo will not have it that his sculptures are toys, nor Raphael his canvasses, nor Ghiberti his brasses. Keats will not have it that his poems are toys, nor Gibbon his histories, nor Ibsen his plays. Darwin will not have it that his biology is a toy, nor Tylor his anthropology, nor Einstein his physics."

Watts's hymn here quoted begins 'Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove ' which survives as far as Barrett and then disappears. Watts is obsessed with the brevity of our life here :

> Our life is ever on the wing,
> And death is ever nigh;
> The moment when our lives begin
> We all begin to die.

Death is that illustrious day

> That rends the prison of my clay
> And I can feel my fetters broke.

Yet Watts also gave us 'Come we that love the Lord'

> The men of grace have found
> Glory begun below ;
> Celestial fruits on earthly ground
> From faith and hope may grow

The hill of Zion yields
A thousand sacred sweets,
Before we reach the heavenly fields
Or walk the golden streets.

'Fill Thou my life, O Lord my God' by Bonar first appeared in 1866. It was included in Barrett and has become a universal favourite. It is a prayer that the whole of life may be offered up to God in praise :

So shalt Thou, glorious Lord, from me
Receive the glory due ;
And so shall I begin on earth
The song forever new.

But a hymn that seeks deliberately to do justice to the 'claims of earth' is Ellerton's 'Behold us Lord a little space' published in 1871 which is included in Barrett :

Thine is the loom, the forge, the mart,
The wealth of land and sea,
The worlds of science and of art
Revealed and ruled by Thee.

In 1870, too, Charles Kingsley wrote

From Thee all skill and science flow

which appears in the *Hymnary*. But the hymn that sets the claims of earth in the true light of redemption is Canon Dugmore's 'Almighty Father of all things that be,' which is given in *Congregational Praise* :

For well we know this weary, soilèd earth
Is yet Thine own by right of its new birth,
Since that great cross upreared on Calvary
Redeemed it from its fault and shame to Thee.

In this redeemed world
Thou dost the strength to workman's arm impart;
From Thee the skilled musician's mystic art,
The grace of poet's pen or painter's hand,
To teach the loveliness of sea and land.

But the indictment against other worldliness, as Dr. Baillie points out, is not only that the glories of heaven have blinded the eyes of those that envisioned them to the glories of earth, it is also that those whose real hopes are in eternity have been lacking in zeal for progress in time. " It was as the old preoccupation with eternity began to disappear and the traditional eschatological picture, that vast triptych of hell, purgatory and paradise to lose its power over the imagination, that the cry for social reform was first clearly heard in the

land." We must now trace in our hymnbooks the movement away from the kind of otherwordliness to which exception is taken towards an emphasis on progress, till we come to a more recent reaction against Utopianism and to what is known as 'realized eschatology.'

The nearest the *New Congregational Hymnbook* comes to the dream of an earthly paradise is in a hymn, strangely enough, by Watts. It is given in an altered form. The original is even more striking :

> Blessed Redeemer, how divine
> How righteous is this rule of thine,
> To do to all men just the same
> As we expect or wish from them.
>
> How bless'd would every nation be
> Thus ruled by love and equity,
> All would be friends without a foe
> And form a Paradise below.

But in the Supplement we find the first example of 'Hymns of the Kingdom' which were to be such a marked feature of the 19th century. Here is 'Come Kingdom of our God' by J. Johns, a Unitarian, which first appeared in Dr. Beard's Collection in 1837. Here too is ' It came upon the midnight clear' with its vision of the 'age of gold'

> When peace shall over all the earth
> Its ancient splendours fling.

This, too, is by a Unitarian, E. H. Sears, first published in 1849. Barrett includes 'Come Kingdom of our God' under 'Christian Missions.' Hymns of the Kingdom are much more prominent in the *Hymnary*. Here is Palgrave's 'O Thou not made with hands' where God's own Jerusalem is 'not throned above the skies' but 'in life's common ways.' Here is Merrick's

> Rise up O men of God !
> His Kingdom tarries long;
> Bring in the day of brotherhood
> And end the night of wrong.

Here, too, is Felix Adler's 'Sing we of the Golden City' of which we are to be the builders and which

> Will last and shine transfigured
> In the final reign of right.

Here, too, is Hosmer's 'Thy Kingdom come, on bended knee' looking to

The day of perfect righteousness,
The promised day of God.

Here, too, is 'O when shall we behold, that city all of gold' by Thomas Lake Harris, and Whittier's 'O sometimes gleams upon our sight' with the optimism that seems so strange to us today,

And step by step since time began
We see the steady gain of man.

This sudden appearance of so many hymns where an earthly Utopia has taken the place of 'Jerusalem above' is very striking. The last two are omitted from *Congregational Praise*, but the other three are still there. Our misgiving however is expressed in the note in *The Companion* to 'Sing we of the Golden City.' "This school of thought with its pronounced humanism has had its day but this is a good example of a type of hymn for which there still seems to be a demand." In response to the same demand we included 'These things shall be' by J. A. Symonds, which had so great a vogue a few years ago when it was printed on a fly-leaf by the League of Nations Union.

In the early days of our preparation of *Congregational Praise* we wrote to a number of ministers working in different types of churches to ask them whether they thought we needed a new hymnbook and what advice they could give us. One letter made a deep impression upon me. It came from William Dick of Poplar. "In the new book," he wrote "I hope you will leave out the last verse of most hymns with its sentimental reference to heaven." Heaven is certainly not a theme for sentimental reflections and too often it becomes a mere tag to innocuous piety. But William Dick meant more than that. He had been working in the East end of London during the time of the great depression and he knew how easily religion can be offered as a mere opiate to the people. Perhaps the boldest expression of this feeling is to be found in R. J. Campbell's *New Theology* published just 50 years ago. "I maintain that the Church has nothing whatever to do with preparing men for a world to come. The Church exists to make the world a Kingdom of God and to fill it with His love." But when the time came to prepare *Congregational Praise* a great change had already taken place in our religious thought. Two world wars had shattered the easy optimism of an earthly Utopia in this generation. Vast war cemeteries reminded us that there are millions who are beyond the reach of any earthly Utopia. There may be

something noble in saying, " I don't care what happens to me when I die." There is nothing noble in saying " I don't care what happens to those who were dearer to me than life." But a deeper question haunts us today when the Welfare State has abolished so many of the evils of insecurity and unemployment which so troubled William Dick. In the words of George Tyrell " when all are sufficiently fed and clothed and housed and tended the question still remains, what to do with life." And that is a question which cannot be answered in terms of this world only, for the deepest truth about man is that eternity is set in his heart. There is a deep craving in the heart of man today, uttered or unexpressed, for authentic tidings of eternity. The question is often asked why so many people today, especially many young people, are attracted to the Papal Church. I am convinced that part at least of the answer is this, there is a yearning for the supernatural. Now there is much in the Roman Catholic conception of the supernatural which seems to us unreasonable and superstitious. But those who are feeling their way back to religion know religion when they see it and they know that religion is concerned with the supernatural. You cannot enter a Roman Catholic Church without being made aware of the supernatural: " O world invisible, we view thee, O world intangible we touch thee," which, alas, is not always true in our Free Church worship.

" We have no warrant in the teaching of Jesus " says Dr. Dodd " for affirming that the long cycles of history will lead inevitably to a millennial 'Kingdom of God' on earth. But we have warrant for affirming that God comes to meet us in history, and sets before us the open but narrow door into His Kingdom." In 1941 Dr. Micklem, impressed with the inadequacy of all these Utopian hymns, set as the subject for a Psalmody prize at Mansfield College 'a hymn to be sung after a sermon dealing with the social applications of Christianity'. The prize was awarded to George Caird for his hymn 'Almighty Father, who for us Thy Son didst give', the first hymn known to me inspired by the conception of 'Realized Eschatology:'

Let not Thy worship blind us to the claims of love,
But let Thy manna lead us to the feast above,
To seek the country which by faith we now possess
Where Christ, our treasure, reigns in peace and righteousness.

We have quoted Dr. Baillie's criticism of the traditional view that 'the life of earth was of importance only as a prepara-

tion for eternity' and also that 'the only interest and occupation of eternity was the worship of God.' We must now consider what light is thrown by our hymns on the nature of eternal life.

One of the greatest difficulties, perhaps the greatest difficulty of all, in believing in a future life is the impossibility of any clear conception of what it will be like. One of the most striking repudiations of any belief in a future life comes from Jane Harrison in *A Student's Life*. " When I was young personal immortality seemed to me axiomatic. The mere thought of death made me furious. I was so intensely alive I could defy anyone or anything, God or Demon or Fate to put me out. All that is changed now. If I think of death at all it is merely as a negative of life, a close, a last and necessary chord. I have no hope whatever of personal immortality, no desire even for a future life. My consciousness began in a very humble fashion with my body, very quietly I hope it will end." I quote that as an example of an attitude which is fairly common today. But is there not a simple fallacy here ? Immortality is identified with mere continuance:

> Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow,
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day . . .

Is it never to end ? Is our farthing rushlight to last for ever ? The thought becomes oppresive : 'Out, out brief candle ! Immortality can have no meaning for us until we think of it on terms not of mere continuance but of fulfilment. In an article in the *Sunday Times* Dorothy Sayers wrote, " If we are to understand the Christian doctrine about what happens at death, we must first rid our minds of every concept of time and space as we know them. If this real existence involves anything at all corresponding to 'time' and 'space' these do not coincide with ours in any way, and we can have no conception of them." And yet, as John Baillie says, " it is not possible that we should know that we possess eternal life without having any knowledge of what eternal life is. In knowing *that* a thing is, some knowledge of *what* it is is always contained." This is the most fundamental difficulty in any real belief in a future life. Miss Sayers said that the impossibility of forming any conception of eternal life was understood by the instructed Christian up to the end of the Middle Ages. It was only after the Reformation and the Renaissance that childishly literal notions of a localised Heaven extended in measurable time began to creep out of

popular mythology into the minds of educated people. This seems a strange assertion in view of the best known and most popular of all hymns giving a picture of the heavenly life, Bernard of Cluny's immense poem on 'The contemptibleness of the world' from which we derive 'Jerusalem the Golden.' In the same tradition, though a little later, is 'Jerusalem my happy home' an anonymous hymn probably of the end of the 16th century. This lovely hymn is given in full in *Congregational Praise* in the section 'Chiefly for Private Devotion.' It was immensely popular in the 17th Century and some of the verses were reprinted on broadsides, showing, as Percy Dearmer says " the people's craving for hymns at a time when congregations were limited to the metrical psalms" but showing also what a prominent part was played at that period by visions of a brighter world beyond this vale of tears. No attempt is made to do justice to what Baillie calls 'the claims of earth'.

We that are here in banishment
Continually do mourn ;
We sigh and sob, we weep and wail
Perpetually we groan.

By contrast the heavenly life is a life of endless joy and 'pleasure every way.' The burden of time is lifted

a thousand years
Doth seem as yesterday.

It is a world of music and of song,

There David stands with harp in hand
As master of the choir

Our Lady sings *Magnificat,* Ambrose and St. Austin sing *Te Deum* and the harmony of the blessed saints 'in every street doth sing.' In the same tradition is Samuel Crossman's 'Jerusalem on high.' Isaac Watts in one of his loveliest hymns sings of 'a land of pure delight where everlasting spring abides.' All these hymns and many others which were once so popular, such as 'For ever with the Lord' and 'O Paradise, O Paradise,' represent the future life as a state of blessedness beyond the grave, always in contrast with our life here. If we are to speak of the life beyond the veil at all it must be by means of myth and symbol, for 'we know not what shall be.' But eternal life is here and now, and our life hereafter is a fulfilment of our life here. There is a remarkable hymn by Charles Wesley in which he speaks of eternal life here and now :

To him that in Thy name believes
Eternal life with Thee is given
Into himself he all receives
Pardon and holiness and heaven.

Faith lends its realizing light
The clouds disperse, the shadows fly ;
The invisible appears in sight,
And God is seen by mortal eyes.

Much earlier than Wesley, earlier than Watts, is that beautiful hymn by John Mason, so strangely forgotten until it was revived by the *English Hymnal*, 'How shall I sing that majesty?

They sing because Thou art their sun ;
Lord, send a beam on me ;
For where heaven is but once begun,
There alleluias be.

The most successful attempt to describe in the idiom of our own day, and yet in the language of Scripture, the life beyond which is a fulfilment of our life here is Charter Piggott's beautiful hymn 'For those we love beyond the veil.'

O fuller, sweeter is that life,
And larger, ampler is the air ;
Eye cannot see nor heart conceive
The glory there:

Nor know to what high purpose Thou
Dost yet employ their ripened powers,
Nor how at Thy behest they touch
This life of ours.

There are no tears within their eyes ;
With love they keep perpetual tryst;
And praise and work and rest are one
With Thee, O Christ.

In the final chapter of *Moral Values and the Idea of God* Sorley asks whether the beatific vision itself would completely satisfy a creative mind. " If absorption is not the goal, and free minds still endure, it is hardly possible to regard them as passing their time in the restful bliss of some paradise of mediaeval pattern. What lies beyond we cannot tell, and it is vain to imagine. But if free minds endure it must surely be for a range of activity suited to the capacities and values which they have acquired in their mundane experience. We can even think of them as themselves made perfect, still pressing forward in new and untried ways, enhancing the

values of the world." This idea is reflected in Piggott's hymn :

Free from the fret of mortal years,
And knowing now Thy perfect will,
With quickened sense and heightened joy
They serve Thee still.

There is one modern hymn in which the attempt is deliberately made to express the idea of eternal life, as a reality to be experienced here and now. This is Canon Briggs's hymn 'Now is eternal life.'

Now is eternal life,
If risen with Christ we stand,
In Him to life reborn,
And holden in His hand ;
No more we fear death's ancient dread
In Christ arisen from the dead.

Unfathomed love divine,
Reign Thou within my heart ;
From Thee nor depth nor height,
Nor life nor death can part ;
My life is hid in God with Thee,
Now and through all eternity.

The Drew Lecture was founded just 50 years ago. It was the desire of the founder Mr. John Drew that " instruction, assurance, and inspiration should be given as to the soul's destiny and as to the nature and reality of the life hereafter." It remains to ask whether the hymns of the Church are among the sources of inspiration as to the hope of immortality. " It was as a religion of immortality " says Dr. Schweitzer " that Christianity was consecrated to take the place of the slowly dying civilisation of the ancient world." Our hymn books bear witness that from the earliest days Christianity has been a death conquering religion.

The strife is o'er, the battle done ;
Now is the Victor's triumph won ;
O let the song of praise be sung;
Alleluia.

Death's mightiest powers have done their worst
And Jesus hath His foes dispersed ;
Let shouts of praise and joy outburst ;
Alleluia

If death ends all we can no longer sing that. 'Jesus lives no longer now, ' as the hymn is sometimes announced, be-

comes tragically true. "They are all gone into a world of light"—no, into everlasting darkness. All the great hymns and prayers of the saints bear witness that

> He who slumbered in the grave
> Is exalted now to save;
> Now through Christendom it rings
> That the Lamb is King of kings.

You may remember a saying in *Joseph Vance*: "How often have I said to myself after some perfectly convincing phrase of Beethoven 'Of course if that is so, there can be no occasion to worry'." How often we have felt as we sang the great Easter hymns, "if that is true everything is all right." You may say that does not prove it to be true. In his essay on "The immortality of the soul in Tennyson and Browning" Sir Henry Jones says "There are some principles so vital to experience—that to deny them is to reduce the world into chaos. Doubt of them is impossible; it turns into absurdity and madness." The certainty that the great Christian religion was built upon the truth, and not upon a lie, is one of those facts of experience which it is irrational to deny.

How far do our hymns reflect a belief in immortality as conserving moral values? There is here a truth which needs to be carefully stated. There is a famous passage in which Luther says, "If you believe in no future life I would not give a mushroom for your god. Do then as you like. For if no God then no devil no hell. As with a fallen tree all is over when you die. Then plunge into lechery, rascality, robbery and murder." Such an attitude has been condemned as immoral and irreligious. A finer note is struck by F. W. Robertson: "If there is no God and no future state, yet even then it is better to be generous than selfish, better to be chaste than licentious, better to be true than to be false, better to be brave than to be a coward." That is surely true and strikes a more Christian note than Luther. And yet it is also true that such a conviction of the absolute claims of goodness carries with it and implies a belief in immortality and would not long survive its loss. As George Tyrell says: "When we feel that truth and right matter absolutely and unconditionally, we also feel that they matter eternally. A conviction that when in a few thousand years our race is extinct, it will be all the same how men have lived; that history will be as a tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing, such a conviction is fated to the unconditional importance of

goodness and truth. Nor could I, were I abandoned for life on a desert island, believe my moral conduct to be of unconditional importance were death to be altogether the end of me. The absoluteness of the claims of conscience may be explained away, but while it stands the belief in eternal life stands along with it." It is a question ultimately of the conservation of values. The higher you aim in life the less possible does it become to achieve your aim in this world. That is what St. Paul meant when he said " If in this life only we have hope in Christ we are of all men most to be pitied." He does not mean ' If I have abandoned the good things of this world hoping to get them back in fuller measure in the world to come,' as is suggested in the hymn, ' Whatever Lord we lend to Thee, repaid a thousandfold will be.' What he meant was that if the things of Christ are the things that really matter then if this world is all we are most to be pitied, because under the limitations of mortality the Christian values can never be fully attained. " No man " says Fosdick " will work hard sowing diamonds on tissue paper. " Or as Browning says, "Man's reach must exceed his grasp or what's a heaven for."

Now the idea that the motive of a good life is the hope of heaven or the fear of hell does appear in many of our hymns, as we have seen. The idea that to give up all for Christ is to find more than all in Him, both in this world and in the world to come is expressed in Watts's hymn " I'm not ashamed to own my Lord "

> Jesus, my Lord, I know His name,
> His name is all I trust ;
> Nor will He put my soul to shame,
> Nor let my hope be lost.

So Richard Baxter :

> Lord it belongs not to my care
> Whether I die or live;
> To love and serve Thee is my share,
> And this Thy grace must give.
>
> Come Lord when grace hath made me meet
> Thy blessed face to see ;
> For if Thy work on earth be sweet
> What will Thy glory be ?

Above all in that lovely hymn attributed to St. Francis Xavier :

My God I love Thee, not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor yet because who love Thee not
Are lost eternally.

Not with the hope of gaining aught,
Not seeking a reward;
But as Thyself hast loved me,
O ever loving Lord.

E'en so I love Thee and will love
And in Thy praise will sing,
Solely because Thou art my God
And my eternal King.

But it is not merely the survival of moral values which is at stake but the survival of personality. The supreme issue today is the sacredness of human personality. As Streeter says "What can we say of the universe or the power behind it if it treats the individuality of heroic souls like oyster shells at a banquet, whisked from the table to make room for the next course?—If the divine righteousness may lightly scrap the individual, human righteousness may do the same."

"The hope of immortality" said William Temple "is strictly dependent on and subordinate to faith in God. If God is righteous—still more if God is love—immortality follows as a consequence. He made me; He loves me; He will not let me perish so long as there is anything that He can love." That goes to the root of the matter. There is a beautiful passage in a letter which George Meredith wrote to his friend John Morley on the death of his wife. "Dearest Morley—the end has come. Yesterday the poor soul so hardly tried, breathed her last—With me she lives till I go out." Can God say less than that? With Him we live—till He goes out.

IN APPRECIATION OF OLIVER CROMWELL

By George Phillips, M.A., B.D.

The present year is the tercentenary of the death of Cromwell, who was born on April the 25th, 1599 and died on September the 3rd, 1658. Hardly any other great historical character has caused such confusion, contradiction and disorder among English annalists as he has done. To a considerable extent the confusion has been the result of the dissemination down the years of stories told at Cavalier roysterings, in the tap-rooms and bar-parlours of seventeenth century inns or, maybe, in the more sedate but not less hostile, and scarcely less credulous, society of Anglican chapter-houses and Presbyterian vestries. A mass of this kind of abusive and scandalous material was collected by one James Heath, later known as " Carrion " Heath, in a book published in 1663 and entitled *Flagellum, or the Life and Death of O. Cromwell, the late Usurper*, which Carlyle regards as the " chief fountain of all the foolish lies that have circulated about Oliver since." One gathers from Carlyle that the *Flagellum* is spicy but historically worthless, and of the author he quotes with relish the verdict of a contemporary to the effect that he was " an unfortunate blasphemous dullard, and scandal to humanity."

In those days they still had a command of invigorating English, a secret, alas, now lost through the corrosive influence of modern education. But Carlyle had it in superlative measure, and used all its resources in giving to the world the first reasonably coherent and consistent description of the true Oliver Cromwell. It was Carlyle's avowed intention to clear the reputation of the great Puritan soldier and statesman of the misrepresentations and falsifications which veiled the man and his achievements from the eyes of posterity. As is well known Carlyle possessed in abnormal measure the capacity for hero-worship. Perhaps it would be more generous, perhaps more true, to say that he had a capacity for discerning greatness in human character. Anyhow, he sees Cromwell as a figure of almost superhuman power, a towering genius whose very faults were virtuous and whose ways and thoughts were so far beyond those of ordinary mankind that it was presumptuous on their part to attempt to judge him. Gratitude is due to Carlyle for his valiant defence of Cromwell and his noble determination to reveal his true stature ; yet perhaps he rather overdid it. To the present writer it seems vital to a sound judgment of the Protector's life and work to realise that he was just an ordinary mortal, limited in under-

standing, at times very troubled and bewildered by the appalling disorder left by the Civil War, and often pondering in great perplexity the steps to be taken to meet the perils and problems of those tumultuous days. What his enemies stigmatised as subtlety or duplicity was in fact the consequence of his uncertainty and indecision. The state of the country at that time would have baffled the wit and sagacity of the most experienced statesman ; it is not surprising that it should have embarrassed a country squire with no experience of war and little of diplomacy and statecraft. But Cromwell was through and through a religious man, acting with a deep sense of his responsibility to God. He was concerned to do right things, yet often uncertain what was the right course to take. On many points he changed his mind, and was consequently charged with fickleness. Yet the ability to adjust one's thinking to new experience and to adapt one's methods to altered circumstances is the mark, not of littleness, but of greatness. In spite of these changes and adjustments, however, his fundamental principles and purposes remained constant. He was faithful, not to what Anglicans, Presbyterians, Republicans, Levellers and others thought he should be, but to what, he believed, God had called him, the task, namely, of furthering the cause of true religion, religious and civil liberties and toleration.

Since Carlyle criticism of the Protector and his party has on the whole been more cautious, fairer and much better informed. Once cannot, for example, imagine any modern writer committing so flagrant an error as occurs in Gray's scandalous line : " Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood." If the poet really believed that Cromwell was in any sense responsible for the Civil War his ignorance was appalling ; if, on the other hand, he knew the facts what can we say of the ethics of such a comment ? It did, however, reflect the common Tory and Anglican view of Oliver prevalent in the eighteenth century. Hardly anybody today questions his military genius, which was indeed amazing. There can be scarcely any doubt but that the parliamentary success in the Civil War was to an astonishing extent his personal achievement. Though over the age of forty when he first became concerned in military operations, Cromwell speedily grasped the essentials of success. He saw that the parliamentary troops were inferior to the royalists in quality and fighting spirit, and proceeded to remedy this weakness by gathering together men whose religious faith and love of liberty should make them a match for the dash and daring of

the " gentlemen of England. " These men he put through a rigorous training and discipline, teaching them a variety of new tactics in cavalry fighting, but perhaps, above all, schooling them in swift and resolute action. This body became the nucleus of the famous Ironsides, who, it is said, were never worsted in any engagement. In fact they won the Civil War : almost certainly it would have been lost without them. In the crucial battles of Marston Moor and Naseby the course of the fighting was going in favour of the royalists until the Ironsides, having scattered the cavalry wing opposed to them, turned and crushed the enemy's centre with flank attacks.

Cromwell's greatness as a commander was not fully revealed until the Second Civil War, when for the first time he was in sole charge of major operations. The main danger at the time came from the invasion of a Scottish army under the Duke of Hamilton advancing towards the Midlands by way of Carlisle and Preston. It was a well-equipped force which, together with a contingent of northern royalists, numbered almost twenty four thousand men. After quelling a rising in South Wales Cromwell with less than nine thousand troops rode swiftly northwards into Yorkshire, crossed the Pennines and fell upon the Scots army drawn out in line of march over thirty miles long. Driving a wedge between the main body and the rearguard he attacked southwards and in a running fight lasting three days on the road from Preston he destroyed the enemy piecemeal. The whole army fell into his hands with the exception of the rearguard which retreated northwards and finally escaped over the border. This extraordinary victory was gained with a loss of only fifty men. All Cromwell's major battles were similar in their decisive character. At Dunbar he defeated a considerably superior Scottish force in an hour's " dispute " (to use one of Oliver's favourite expressions) before sunrise, and threw it into hopeless ruin. His total losses were twenty men. Worcester was a stiffer proposition. The enemy were entrenched in a strong position, though much inferior numerically. On this occasion only a few of the Ironsides took part in the engagement, the force under Cromwell consisted mainly of the county militia, comparatively inexperienced and inexpert. Yet the decisive battle was won with a loss of only two hundred men.

The leadership which was able to produce such successes with so little expenditure must have been superb. It was the result very largely of speed;—swift comprehension, decision and action which again and again caught the enemy unprepared. But there was also the thoroughness which is so large

a part of genius. He showed the greatest care in the choice of men for officers, and as a consequence had the support of a wonderful staff, on whose ability and trustworthiness he could absolutely rely: Ireton, described as a "second Cromwell" who married Oliver's daughter, Bridget; Lambert, a brilliant tactician, whom the Scots judged to be as fine a leader as Cromwell himself; Skippon; Fleetwood; Harrison; Monk; all captains of well-merited reputation. The discipline and confidence of his troops was of course even more determinative of success. The rank and file of the Ironsides consisted of Nonconformists or "sectaries" as their detractors liked to style them,—Independents for the most part, Anabaptists, Fifth-monarchy men, Levellers and others, most of whom were fighting with the enthusiasm and resolution of those whose essential liberties are at stake. Cromwell had chosen them for their "godly" character and not for their opinions. He became their protector against intolerance, and they on their part responded with ardent trust and devotion. It was through his sympathy with his troopers in their aspirations after religious liberty that Cromwell was gradually drawn from the Anglican church to throw in his lot with Independency.

The power of Cromwell however was manifested not only in military success; even more remarkably it was revealed in the stabilising of the nation after the Civil War. Very few could have faced that chaos of material and spiritual loss, of conflicting views and interests, of deep bitterness and resentment on the part of some, impossible dreams and incredible expectations on the part of others, with the slightest prospect of maintaining control. And there was the additional burden of a captive, but far from resigned, king. After the close of hostilities there were four main parties to deal with: the defeated royalists with the king; the Presbyterians, with a majority in the Long Parliament determined to hold on to power; the army, itself divided by sharp religious and political differences, and Cromwell with an influential following personally faithful to him. The royalists were hoping for a rift to appear between the factions on the parliamentary side, or for intervention on the part of the Irish or the Scots, or a successful rising anywhere. Charles in his rather loose captivity was in fact corresponding with the Irish, the Scots and various royalist or pro-royalist leaders with the design of opening a new war. The Presbyterians, who had become completely alienated from the victorious Roundhead army, intended to disband the major part of it and to form a Presby-

terian army to take its place. The Long Parliament actually voted to discharge the soldiers who had won the war, and incidentally maintained them in power, without making up the very considerable arrears of pay. Then they proposed to restore Charles to his throne on condition that he established Presbyterianism as the State religion and also engaged to admit the supremacy of Parliament, in which they expected to dominate. By this time they had greatly hardened in their attitude towards the Independents and other Non-conformists, and it had become clear that when in power they would be every bit as oppressive and intolerant as Laud and the High-church party. They actually passed "An Act for the Suppression of Blasphemies" which prescribed the penalty of death for such major heresies as denial of the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the divinity of Christ, the Resurrection, and the Inspiration of the Scriptures, and long terms of imprisonment for minor heresies. Anyone calling into question the doctrine of paedobaptism or the *jus divinum* of the Presbyterian order was to be liable to a sentence of life-long imprisonment. There were of course men of more generous mind among the Presbyterians,—Sir Thomas Fairfax, a commander of great ability and a friend of Cromwell's up to the time of the trial of the king, was a case in point,—but generally it was only too evident that the Presbyterians had participated in the war not to establish religious or civil liberties, but simply to substitute a Presbyterian for an Anglican supremacy. The "blasphemies" of the Act were any teachings of which they didn't approve. This shows the temper and aims of contemporary Presbyterianism, and it explains why Milton, who saw the issues perhaps more clearly than any other man of his time and was all for the expansion of the principles of liberty, so rightly though severely denounced them in his pamphlets, and particularly in the famous line, "New presbyter is but old priest writ large."

It is necessary to separate Cromwell from the army because, though his influence was undoubtedly paramount, and he never lost his grip upon the majority of his troops, yet the army had a mind of its own, and it kept certain principles and objectives very steadily before it. As one would expect, the common soldiers felt very strongly antipathetic to any person or party threatening to reopen the conflict which, they felt justifiably, they had won and finished; or anyone attempting to rob them of the fruits of their struggle. And when they saw that through the machinations of the royalists on the one hand and the Presbyterians on the other their

newly won freedom was in peril, they reacted very sharply and planned to use forcible measures to protect themselves. Cromwell, though sympathising with his men, was always more prudent and moderate, and hence in these situations he figured as a rider controlling with tight rein a fiery steed. His pleadings for restraint and patience did not please everybody. To some it looked like temporising, others explained it as duplicity or believed that Oliver was guarding his own interests.

Probably the most critical of these periods of tension was that during the First and Second Civil Wars, when the king was in the charge of the Parliamentary Commissioners at Holmby House. This was above all others the best opportunity for negotiation and arriving at peace and stability by 'round the table' methods. The Long Parliament with its Presbyterian majority tried to persuade the king to accept restoration subject to the establishment of the Presbyterian order in place of the Anglican, to parliamentary control of the forces for twenty years and the exclusion of certain royalist leaders from public office. Charles returned evasive answers on these proposals except that he refused definitely to have anything to do with banning the bishops. Nevertheless they continued to hope that he would eventually agree and consequently the Presbyterian and the royalist parties drew nearer together until there was little between them. Meanwhile Cromwell and Ireton, with the consent of the majority of the army officers, in a document called " The Heads of Proposals " offered their own terms for replacing Charles upon the throne. These terms represent beyond a doubt Oliver's hopes and ideals for the future order of the State, and thus when in later days, faced by all sorts of difficulties, he departed from the principles they embodied, we can be confident that that he did so regretfully because of urgent practical reasons. The main proposals were that parliament should be called every three years under a reformed system of representation, should nominate the chief officers of State, maintain control of the forces for ten years, and that there should be freedom of belief and worship for all, even Papists. These were far and away the most reasonable of the schemes offered for a general settlement, but the king was at that time so confident of regaining his throne without conditions that he would promise nothing. The army officers were exceedingly resentful of the king's temporising and began to take the view that the king would have to be brought to justice for his treachery. Still Cromwell pleaded for patience and renewed persuasion,

trusting that eventually Charles would see reason. But when the Second Civil War broke out with dangerous risings in Essex and the south-west, in Wales and, above all, the invasion of the Scottish royalists, and it was proved beyond any doubt that Charles had been the prime instigator, then at last Oliver gave way. It was decided that the leaders of the risings must die, but that would be grossly unjust if the chief conspirator remained unpunished. It was this new rebellion and bloodshed which finally brought the army to realise that there never would be peace in the nation with justice and freedom for all so long as Charles Stuart was able to continue his incessant plotting of new conflicts.

At this point in the story of the Protectorate we begin to hear the first murmurs of the terrible wrangle, which has gone on ever since, on the question of legality. In this confused scene what was legal? Who was legally in the right? The army had 'purged' the Long Parliament; that was illegal! But the Long Parliament itself was illegally in existence; all its acts had been illegal since 1641, (when it passed a bill to perpetuate its own existence without the king's consent). Its relations with the king were totally illegal, since to bear arms against the king was treason and also to hold the person of the monarch in captivity. Yet the king himself was constitutionally in the wrong in breaking or disregarding signed agreements and engagements made personally or by his predecessors. The whole situation was a confusion and congestion of illegalities. What point or relevance therefore is there in accusing Cromwell of doing illegal acts when his whole position, with that of every contestant, was unlawful; or of trying to give unlawful acts the semblance of legality? Of course the king's trial and execution were illegal, since the law made no provision for such a thing; and there were no precedents for the removal of a tyrannous monarch except, as in the case of Edward II and Richard II, by assassination. But the idea of secret murder was totally unacceptable to the Cromwellian party. Whatever they did must be done openly with due consideration and by responsible people. They assumed two principles which were admittedly without legal, though, they would maintain, not without moral foundation. The first was that the king is not above law or the penalties of breaking it; the second was that a court of responsible citizens authorised by parliament can try and punish him if necessary.

Very few today would judge that the parliamentarians were wrong in offering the king armed resistance, though

legally this was treason. Yet if that is not condemned it is difficult to see on what ground Cromwell can be censured for the fairly numerous unconstitutional courses he felt compelled to adopt in the perilous days following the overthrow of the monarchy. By conviction he was a parliamentarian and a democrat, but he was also and fundamentally a practical man who was well aware that the theory of things sometimes breaks down, in which case it is fortunate if there is available the wisdom and courage to apply practical expedients sufficient to secure safety, order and as much liberty as circumstances will allow. He must have realised sorrowfully that he and his party had lost popularity through the general dismay at the king's execution ; but he also knew that he alone was in a position to stabilise the country, maintain order and justice. There is absolutely no reason to doubt his word when he so passionately assured his first parliament that he had not wished to occupy the position of Protector ; he was called to it by God and the people, a summons which he could not disobey.

J. R. Green sympathises with Cromwell up to the point when he dismissed his first freely elected parliament. After that his rule became " the new tyranny." It was at this point also that he parted company with many of his former friends, men like Harrison, Vane, Haselrigg, Bradshaw and Overton who expected a democratic republic constituted practically at once. And at the same time the army began to develop internal disorders through the discontent of the Levellers, the Fifth-monarchy men, Antinomians and various queer sects, described by Carlyle as " the smoke and soot " and " the fuliginous extreme " of the Puritan movement, all of whom had vivid dreams and powerful convictions about the nature of the Kingdom of God, which did not include the office of Protector, and who expected their apocalyptic visions to be realised forthwith. Perhaps Oliver ought to have shown more patience and perseverance with his parliaments: it is very difficult for us to judge. But he knew that a freely elected parliament with a royalist-cum-Presbyterian majority, given complete freedom to act, would at once disband the army and restore the monarchy, and that would mean the loss of everything for which the great war had been fought, especially of that which was at the head of the scale of his values, religious toleration. Hence, having the power, Cromwell determined to hold on to it, with the intention of experimenting until some satisfactory constitution, guaranteeing these liberties could be found.

It was Cromwell's practical sense which caused him to

recoil from the views of the republican wing of his party. In essence he still held to the monarchical principle, namely, that in the State as in an army there must be one man with the chief responsibility for the administration. In the *Instrument of Government* drawn up by his Council of State and approved, though not without much argument and boggling, by his first parliament, the powers of the Protector, though real, were very definitely limited, and certain prerogatives were assigned to parliament, for example the imposing of taxes and the making of laws. But perhaps the chief check on the Protector was his Council, which had to consent to his proposals for the appointment of chief officers, the disposal of forces and relations with foreign powers. The Protector could choose, but could not dismiss, the members of his Council. Hence his power was far from being that of an autocrat. It must, however, be admitted that later, when in need of money, he imposed taxes and also adopted measures, which were strictly laws, without the consent of parliament; almost the same things in fact as those acts on the part of Charles which had precipitated the war. Yet the situation and circumstances were entirely different. Charles was intent on preserving the power and privileges of the Crown and the ruling classes, Cromwell on building up a system of order and freedom for the common people. If the times had been normal there could have been no excuse for his unconstitutional acts. The apology for Cromwell must be that he was dealing with a situation which called for innovations and experiments, and that, when once civil war between king and parliament had broken down the ancient traditions and precedents, there was bound to be a period of change and recourse to expedients which would involve irregularities. It was fortunate for England that the great man who came forward at that dangerous time and, humanly speaking, held the destinies of the nation in his hands, was as honest and principled as the Lord Protector.

Many writers have talked of the "puzzle" or the "enigma" of Cromwell's character. One sometimes suspects that the "puzzle" arises because they ascribe to him ideas and characteristics, which were just not there. He describes himself as a man of simple mind. Probably we should do well to accept his own judgment on that point. There is little in fact in his life which is really difficult to understand provided that his main convictions and his practical genius are kept in mind. Throughout he was dominated first by a passion for liberty, especially freedom of belief and worship, which he was prepared to give to everybody who

could be trusted to behave peacefully and not attempt to coerce the consciences of others: for ultimately you can't tolerate the intolerant; secondly by his determination to protect and promote the Protestant faith particularly in its Puritan form, which was the main motive of his foreign policy; and thirdly by his deep desire to give England a free, democratic constitution by which the people's liberties could be secured. Add to these his fervent belief in a personal God whom to know, to love and to obey was life itself, and who had called him to be His instrument for the overthrow of tyranny and ungodliness, his continual reference to the Bible, as the living revelation of God's will;—he never went into battle, we are informed by one of his chaplains, without some word of Scripture to inspire him—and also a deep conviction of the power of prayer, his invariable recourse in all circumstances especially those of difficulty or danger. The conception of Cromwell as a sort of ruthless brute of a man, who was prepared to smash anything or 'liquidate' anybody in his way is completely false. Those who hold such notions have no real knowledge of the man. Even his most ruthless acts were done as the result of conscientious and often painful thought and much prayer. "It is you," he said to the alarmed and angry members of the Rump as he dismissed them, "who have forced me to do this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me than put on me the doing of this work."

Little is known of his formal relations with the Independents. He was a member of the Established Church until somewhere about the age of forty-five, and all his children were baptised in that church. Like Milton and others of the period, he seceded to Independency because he sympathised with the 'sectaries' in their struggle for liberty, and loathed the cruelties and persecution to which they had been subjected. Further he found that Anglicanism was essentially royalist and committed to the support of the doctrine of the 'divine right' of kings. He was heart and soul with the 'separatists' in their determination not to be overruled in matters of conscience by bishops and ecclesiastical authorities. For both of them the Word of God, and that alone, was the Christian's final authority. Whether Cromwell ever became a member of an Independent church appears not to be known.

The clearest outward expression of his Christian character is seen perhaps in his forbearance and tolerance of ministers who distrusted and criticised him. In Scotland where he attended public worship regularly and heard many sermons

directed against himself, he made no attempt whatever to restrain them or even to defend himself against them. And a further example of this patient forbearance is seen in his dealings with Richard Baxter who was consistently and openly hostile, in fact bitterly critical, in his attitude. Oliver made a number of efforts to win Baxter's goodwill, but when he proved quite obdurate, just left him alone, free and unmolested, to continue his ministrations. Baxter prayed for the restoration of the monarchy, and his prayer was granted. One wonders whether in the end he might not have preferred Cromwell's indulgent control.

It is not to be thought that, because at the death of Cromwell the Commonwealth collapsed, therefore Cromwell had fought and striven in vain. England was not ready for the freedom he offered; the old ideas and primitive habits of thought about king and church and constitution were too strong to be broken at a blow. And England, not understanding it, did not like Puritanism. But as a result of his struggle, and in consequence of the fear instilled in the hearts of those who might have been tempted to revive Stuart tyranny, England led the van of the advance towards toleration and freedom. The liberties we possess today, (and hardly seem to value), we owe in large measure to Oliver Cromwell, the greatest of English liberators.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE RELIGIONS

E. L. Allen, M.A., Ph.D., D.D.

Not till the thirteenth century did Christianity begin to present itself to the European mind as one religion among several. Comparisons were not merely odious, they were unthinkable. The synagogue was a pitiful survival for which there was no place alongside the church. Classical antiquity was gross error in its religion, though its philosophy still performed a useful function as ancillary to revealed truth. As for Islam, that was a menace to Christendom to be met only with the sword. But by the thirteenth century the sword had proved unsuccessful, so that, if the Holy Land was to be recovered for Christ, it would have to be by the missionary rather than the soldier. But if the Moslem was to be converted to Christianity, it was necessary to know his language and his faith. So European churchmen began to take seriously the study of Arabic. Opportunities for this were available in Spain, where some of the new Christian kingdoms had Moslem subjects, and it was at Toledo that the first translation of the Koran into Latin was commissioned by Peter the Venerable, so that would-be missionaries would know what they must meet. In a word, Islam became a religion to be studied and understood. Raymond Lull was one of the leading exponents of this new approach, though it must be admitted that he grew tired of the missionary appeal by itself and urged that it be supplemented by a new crusade.

Here then we have the first attempt at a solution of our problem of the relation between Christianity and the other religions. The solution was, of course, that Christianity is true and Islam false. The two religions were compared as two systems of doctrine. What was central in the Christian system was excluded from the other as intolerable blasphemy. The two religions were actually spoken of as rival 'laws'. The basic tenet of Christianity was the Trinity, as that of Islam was the unity of God. Without acceptance of the Trinity, there could be no salvation. It was necessary therefore to demonstrate the truth of the doctrine to the Moslem, since he did not accept the authority of Scripture. This was not easy, and the missionary was therefore advised to devote his energies primarily to the refutation of Mohammed's claims. Hence those attacks on the character of the Prophet that, however justified historically, only served to alienate and embitter his followers. When Lull cried in the market-place of a North African city: "The law of Mohammed is

false, and I can prove that it is so," we are not surprised that he was received with a shower of stones.

Yet it proved impossible to maintain consistently this purely negative attitude to Islam. The most illuminating piece of evidence to this effect is supplied by two books from the pen of Ricoldo da Monte di Croce, a daring Dominican who went as pilgrim to the Holy Land and travelled as far as Bagdad, where he learned Arabic and studied the Koran under the best teachers available. In his polemical work he repeats the customary slanders against Mohammed, making him out to be a Christian renegade and accusing him even of permitting unnatural vice to his followers. The follies of the Koran and the tradition are exposed and contrasted with the absolute accuracy of the Gospels. The whole religion is a mass of falsehoods. But when he comes to give an account of his travels, the good Dominican tells a different story. No praise is too high for the devotion of the Moslem to his faith, his reverence for the name of God, his fidelity to the obligations of prayer, his charity, and so on. How he puts to shame the half-heartedness of the Christian! Ricoldo's final comment is that if these poor souls do so much for a false law, ought not we to do at least as much for the true one?

The reports sent home by Jesuit missionaries from China made it more difficult than ever to maintain this contrast between absolute truth and sheer error. The leading scholar among them, Matteo Ricci, was convinced that the Confucian classics bore witness to a pure ethical monotheism in the early days of the country and definitely accepted this as the natural theology that would do for the Church in China what Aristotle had done for the Church in Europe. Others went still farther and argued that the revelation given to Adam and renewed to Noah had been preserved, not only in Israel, but also in China. Some endeavoured to show that even the most distinctive doctrines of the Christian faith were present in symbol and figure in the ancient Chinese literature: their superiors at home did not allow such theories to be published, though Leibniz knew of them by private correspondence and was sympathetic to them. But the presence of 'natural religion' of China lent additional weight to the thesis of eighteenth century rationalism that where the religions differ they are false, where they agree they are true.

The clearest statement of this point of view is in Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, the central figure in which is clearly

modelled on his friend Mendelssohn, who brought German Jewry out of its intellectual ghetto. The three main characters in the play represent the three great religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Nathan and Saladin are liberal spirits, who care nothing for the dogmas of their respective creeds and value only true human worth whatever name it bears. The Templar, on the other hand, is not yet free from the bigotry that attends on Christian exclusivism. Tragedy threatens, but is averted when it is discovered that the Templar is brother to Nathan's ward and nephew to Saladin. The three religions are at bottom one. The theme is developed also in the story of the three rings, based on Boccaccio. A father has a ring with the power to make its wearer loved by God and man. In accordance with what has happened in previous generations, he is to hand this on to his favourite son. But he has three sons, all equally beloved, so he has two copies of the ring made and hands a ring to each on his death-bed. When the sons quarrel as to which is the heir, the judge to whom they take their case refuses to decide between them. Their lives will show which has the true ring.

" By their fruits ye shall know them." That is to say, all disputes between religions are futile. What is of value in any religion is its moral quality and, if we could only get rid of dogmas, we should find that this is present equally in all religions.

> For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

Rationalism wished to eliminate from the positive religions everything that made them positive and so different from each other. What would remain behind was natural religion, the great truths of God, moral responsibility, and immortality, and on them all can unite. The defect of such a view was its unhistorical character. Religions do not command allegiance by virtue of a few elementary ideas ; they are rooted in history and sustained by tradition, they produce outstanding personalities and permeate the life of societies.

It was the merit of Schleiermacher that he saw this. So-called natural religion is in fact unnatural, the artificial product of a philosopher's cogitations. The religion that is natural to man is neither idea nor code of conduct, it is response in feeling to the Universe. It is to see the eternal in the temporal, the infinite in the finite. And each religion is a unique response in feeling ; everything else in it springs out of this and derives value from it. The power of a religion

lies accordingly in what is peculiar to it, a perspective upon the Whole to be found in no other. Each religion therefore must be judged as a whole. One must not abstract a particular doctrine from one religion to set it alongside the same doctrine from another, for the part is fatally injured when removed from its place in the whole. Yet, while each religion is *sui generis* with its inherent right to exist, each is a version of religion as such. That is to say, there is a certain number of elements that enter into all the religions, but each religion represents a specific arrangement of these. In this religion that is at the centre which is on the circumference for that, and *vice versa*. It is possible therefore to find within one's own religion the keys to the understanding of all the others.

This Romantic position was an immense advance upon that of Rationalism. The historical element comes into its own. A religion carries within itself its claim to exist and does not need to depend upon some general ideas it shares with others. But it raised a problem that Schleiermacher was unable to solve. What is the place of Christianity within such a scheme? Is it just one more religion, as historically conditioned as the rest and so justified only relatively, and not absolutely, as had been claimed hitherto? Schleiermacher has several answers to this question, but to none of them does he finally commit himself. At times it seems that all religions are equally true. Then we are told that Christianity is "the religion of the religions," incomparably above all others because it alone sets in the centre what is the essence of religion as such. Or a distinction is drawn between Christ's religion and Christianity, the former destined to endure and become universal, the latter a historical product with whose fortunes we need not greatly concern ourselves. Of course, had Schleiermacher known more of the actual religions, he might have been better able to reach a conclusion. As it was, what he says of religion has little more behind it than his own Lutheranism as affected by a Moravian upbringing.

Hegel may be regarded as a synthesis of Rationalism and Romanticism. He combined the intellectualism of the one with the historical sense of the other. His solution of our problem was masterly and its influence is considerable to this day. Christianity for him is final because it does justice to all its predecessors. As Schleiermacher urged, each religion has its relative right; it corresponds to a particular phase of development. Yet because there is development it is eventually outgrown and superseded. Another religion takes its place that conserves what was of value in it while abandoning

to the scrap-heap of the antiquarian what was not. In the climax of the process all the stages are therefore *aufgehoben*, at once surpassed and preserved. In his *Philosophy of Religion* Hegel stretches history on the Procrustean bed of logic to reach this result. With Christianity development ceases, the Absolute Spirit has come to itself in man, and one religion is the truth of all religions.

It was the idea of development that enabled Hegel to do what his predecessors could not do. To be sure, Lessing could write of " the education of the human race," but the lesson men had to learn was only that of natural religion. Hegel was able to give absolute status to Christianity with its doctrines and institutions. But time was to show that the argument he invented could be used with equal facility on behalf of other religions. Few thoughtful representatives of the great non-Christian religions today would deny to Christianity any truth ; they would readily allow that it has its place in man's spiritual development, that it contains a truth that can and should find a home in their, the final, religion. The Moslem is ready to allow that Moses and Jesus were apostles of God to their time—but the final prophet is Mohammed. The Mahayana Buddhist gladly recognises Christ as the Bodhisattva of the West ; Christian teaching, a Hindu would say, is true for those who have only reached the spiritual level at which the Western world has arrived. Who is to decide between these various claims ? No one. Each is what we now see Hegel's was, a personal conviction, a judgment of faith thrown into the form of a demonstration.

So we come to Troeltsch, who has seen the inadequacy of all these attempts to demonstrate that Christianity is the absolute religion. The last attempt, that of Hegel, is merely a sophisticated form of the first, the naïve assertion that Christianity is true and all other religions false. We have to acknowledge frankly that an absolute religion is a contradiction in terms. All religions are historically conditioned and therefore enjoy a relative status only. But it is still possible to claim that Christianity is superior to all its rivals and is therefore destined to outlive them. Here he uses the argument that was being employed at the same time by Rudolf Eucken. Christianity sets a higher value on personality than do the great Indian religions, for whom the self is something evil of which one needs to be rid. It stresses man's moral responsibility ; purity of heart is the measure of personal worth. It takes life in this world seriously ; the world is the sphere of moral responsibility. God acts within history,

so that all human doings are invested with significance. If the Christian may not claim that he stands at the goal of all spiritual endeavour, he may boldly say that he has set his feet on the one path that will surely lead thereto. And indeed what further assurance do we need if we are to live as Christians amid the difficulties of our day?

Twenty years after he had first expounded these views, Troeltsch confessed in his *Christian Thought* that they no longer satisfied him. He had come to a fuller knowledge of the non-Christian religions and was no longer disposed to rate them so low. He had become more convinced than ever that history is the sphere of individualities, that each religion therefore is an individual expression of the human spirit with its distinctive character and, more importantly, its own standards. Each religion has entered into a civilization, so that men think within that civilization and are not able to transcend it. He now saw the fallacy in his argument for the superiority of Christianity. The criteria he adopted—the value set on personality, moral responsibility, and history—were Christian in origin and therefore of course they showed Christianity to be superior. A Buddhist could do the same for Buddhism because he would operate with Buddhist standards. The most that we can say therefore is that Christianity is the religion for the Western world. It has made us what we are and by it we must live. It is the face of God turned towards us, but we have no right to say that others have not seen Him. The result is therefore relativism, each religion is the right one for its own civilisation. This relativism is qualified at one point, but the main tendency of the argument is not open to dispute.

It is not necessary to criticise Troeltsch's relativism. It has been refuted by the course of events. There is no culture today that is not profoundly influenced from outside, none that is not in a state of flux. The old gibe that one is a Christian merely because one was brought up in Britain, that had one been brought up in India one would have been a Hindu, is now without force. Few educated people in the West are unaware of the challenge of great systems of teaching that have ministered to the spiritual life of multitudes, patterns of conduct different from their own but as faithfully followed. I once had a student whose mother was a Catholic and whose father a rationalist. He attended a course of lectures on Buddhism in the hope that he might find there a faith he could make his own! No one in the East who reads a European language can be unaware of

Christianity. We are living amid an interchange of cultures. We crave the truth that will unite.

Where then have we arrived? Troeltsch is right: an absolute religion is a contradiction in terms. Religion is never more than our human response to God and as such it is always relative, historically conditioned. God alone is absolute: we aspire to Him but we do not possess Him. He is right also when he sees that all demonstrations of Christianity's superiority are fallacious, because they appeal to standards that are the creation of Christianity. If that is so, then we are left with what he describes, apparently with regret, as "the fine point of personal conviction." But what is there to be sad about? Is not Christian faith always a matter of confession and witness? I am a Christian because Christ has claimed me as Lord, not because of any arguments about the place of Christianity among the religions. As I see it, the more truly one is a Christian the less one is interested in Christianity as such. It is simply the medium through which Christ lays hold upon one, and attention should be given to Him and not to the medium. The position to which the argument brings us seems to me not in the least to be deplored. I find it exhilarating to be called upon to stand for Christ with no external supports, with nothing to commend Him except what He is.

Does this mean, someone will ask, that all comparative study of religions is dismissed as useless, that the Christian must never set Christianity over against, say, Buddhism and ask a Buddhist to consider it seriously? Certainly not. We must be prepared to state the Christian case and discuss it with others in objective, rational terms. But we shall, I hope, be clear what we are doing. Let us consider the analogous case of the arguments for God's existence. God is, of course, beyond demonstration. He is to be met with and not to be proved as though He were an object of a higher order. But the classical arguments still have value as attempts to clarify and relate to the rest of our experience our faith in God. As demonstrations they are useless, as pointers to what transcends all demonstration, they are never likely to lose their value. As a Christian I must not only confess, but communicate my faith. Here, in this subordinate role, is the place for argument and comparison. But these must always vibrate with the faith they seek to express and convey.

THE CHURCH AND THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD

By E. H. Robertson, M.A., B.Sc.

The development of an industrial working-class in almost every country in Europe has brought an estrangement from the Church. This great divide is evident in the middle-class character of most Christian congregations. In some countries, it is even marked by a bitter hostility, an anti-clericalism, which falls an easy prey to communist propaganda that the Church's function is to keep the worker quiet while the 'boss' exploits him.

In England the Church had an initial advantage. The Methodist Revival prevented the worst form of hostility to the Church, and kept large numbers of the new industrial working-class within the churches, or rather the chapels. This had important consequences later, when many trade unions began their life in Methodist chapels. It is still true that, apart from the Roman Catholics whose hold is tenuous, the Methodists have a larger proportion of working-class than the other established denominations in England. Only the sects have a larger proportion, and they often resemble the early Methodists. Later in England, Christian Socialism, associated with the names of Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice, gave the Established Church an interest in the worker's view. The older Free Churches also gave effective support to the Liberal Party and thus provided a Christian public opinion on the side of the oppressed classes. These initial advantages, however, were lost. The behaviour of nearly all the churches during and after the first World War lost the confidence of the working-class. What remains, however, is a strong Christian element in the British Labour Party and a complete failure of communist propaganda to discredit the churches or to gain one seat in Parliament. But Britain also must face the undeniable fact that her churches are largely middle-class. Her industrial workers listen to religious services on radio and television, but do not attend the churches. They do not feel at home there.

This great divide seems, today, to have four sources. They can be seen in every European country, from France to Finland.

First, historically. Despite national variations almost all churches have a bad history with regard to their relations with industrial workers. In Finland it is perhaps at its worst, where Church and Labour fought on different sides in the

civil war. The influence of Karl Marx on the young Socialist parties of Europe was very great and they emerged as atheist by violent profession. This led often to a rejection of any friendly overtures from the churches. A recent example of this was the late Dr. Schumacher's speech on the eve of the first post-war German election, when he declared the S.P.D. (Socialist Party) to be atheist, throwing away the Protestant support and losing the election. The other side of the story was the churches' constant rejection of revolution and repeated support of law and order, to the detriment of the struggling working-class. Despite her great social reformers, the Church has been reactionary in most European countries and she has usually opposed even the reforms of her own members. A minority has had to carry through most of the reforms she usually boasts of. The history of the Church—Labour relations has been a bad one and usually the fault has been largely with the Church. Many churches today want to start on a new basis of friendship, but memories are bitter and long.

The second source, which is partly explained by the first, is political. The Church nearly always finds herself on the right wing politically, attempting to defend and conserve the existing order. The few rebel spirits in its midst have either been ejected as heretics, labelled eccentrics or tamed by preferment. There is more than a grain of truth in the joke that the Church of England is the Conservative Party on its knees. Even in the U.S.A., where the division does not appear to be so clear, all the great evangelical movements and benevolent Christian clubs seem to 'like Ike.' In many countries, indeed most, an active Socialist finds himself in a hostile political atmosphere in most churches.

The third source is perhaps the same as the second, but in a different form. It is the ideological conflict. Most churches are not politically conscious ; they refuse to meddle in politics or what they usually call party politics. This fear, almost disdain, for party politics alone separates the worker, because behind it there lies something equally committed to the right wing. It is an attitude to change. In the battle between social justice and peace, the Church nearly always stands for peace. It is afraid of revolution. Peace and quiet rather than the flaming indignation of an Amos. No wonder that many a factory owner wants an industrial chaplain, because he will help the men to act with moderation and improve industrial relations. The worker has long been on a crusade for justice. He finds himself estranged by the sweet

reasonableness of the Church. The appeal for moderation only confirms his view of the Church as belonging to a different world—good for the children, and women if they feel that way, but not for the modern, hard world of industrial strife.

The fourth is born of all these. It is a class division. The dress and behaviour of those who go to church are *bourgeois*. Workers have to dress up to come to church and behave unnaturally. Those of us who have always lived in this church-world tend to forget the tremendous effort necessary for an industrial worker to prepare for church and then to conform to the behaviour pattern when he is there.

In such a situation of division, two courses are open to the churches. They may withdraw from the world or enter into it and thus effect a revolution in their own lives as well as in the world. The first of these two courses, the withdrawal from the world, has been adopted by the pietist groups. Even in the midst of factory life it can be done, and often is, by withdrawal to prayer meetings in the lunch hour. The only connection with the world is that of rescue work. Like a beleaguered city, the Church defends her life by manning the fortress walls to keep out the world. From time to time companies sally forth to attack and capture a few from the world's grasp, bringing the captives back to share in the life of the Church. The fortress is usually awaiting relief at the end of time, with the return of the Lord, when the world will be subdued. Until then, separation is the attitude to the world. This tradition has produced great saints of God and given to simple men a power of endurance which has astonished the persecutor in all ages. The *Gemeinschaft* movements in Germany are among the best examples of this tradition. They produce men of rare quality and good honest workers. For them, there are no real problems of communication. They have withdrawn into the world of the Bible and they regard the modern world as the unreal one. It is sin which prevents men from understanding the Bible.

If we are not to adopt this abandoning of the world to the Last Judgment, we must choose to enter into the world. It is the way the Master went and the meaning of the Incarnation. God took flesh and blood and dwelt among us. We must as effectively change the habit of the Church if we are to enter fully into the world. We must make no mistake; to enter into the world fully means a revolution not an adaptation. Our present dilemma is that we halt between two opinions. We are not prepared to withdraw, nor can we accept the

changes necessary if we are to enter the modern world. There are, however, individuals and minority groups in all countries who have seen this dilemma and have had the courage to break it by entering fully into the world. It is of them that I want to tell.

Mass industrial society has destroyed *human* solidarity and replaced it by an artificial linking, which looks strong enough but is really superficial. The much boasted class solidarity of the proletariat is of this type. It goes no deeper than self-interest. It may inspire great self-sacrifice but always for an end which is selfish. It does not touch the springs of human individuality, where alone men are truly linked. A strong, but not human, solidarity is destroying mankind and makes possible the sub-human behaviour of Nazis, Fascists and Communists. The Church should be able to heal this malady with an offer of true fellowship at the deepest level, what the New Testament called *koinonia*, fellowship. Unfortunately, that fellowship is no longer evident in many of our churches and one of the necessary revolutions required is a restoration of the sovereignty of the *koinonia* in the life of the churches.

I want to speak of seven countries where this has been attempted.

First, *England*. In the Church of England this restoration has been tried in three different ways. Canon E. R. Wickham assumes that the natural place of community today is where men work together. He is in Sheffield and has a team of young ministers trained to go in and build Christian communities in the factories. In this he has the full support of his Bishop. His thesis seems to assume that there is little hope of integrating the workers into a normal parish church, and he does not really attempt to do so. If the men are to be Christians, they must build a community where they work together. What the trade unions have done for a secular society he would do for a Christian community.

Of course there is some opposition to Canon Wickham's ideas, particularly from parish ministers who feel that the community must be based upon the parish church. The Rev. A. C. Branch of Ipswich is one of the most successful exponents of the opposite point of view. He enters the factory to do personal pastoral work with the men, having as his aim the return of the men one by one to their churches. He is himself a parish minister and operates from his church. These men make a great point of entering the factory by

permission of the trade unions as well as the management. It is fatal to be labelled 'the boss's man.'

A third attempt is that being carried through in Leeds, another industrial city of northern England by Canon E. W. Southcott. He has looked for the natural basis of a restored community in the home and has developed house churches. These groups are of two kinds—'intensive', used for the deepening of the spiritual life of those already active members of the church ; and 'extensive', used for evangelistic purposes and to extend the fellowship of the local church. At such meetings, held regularly and according to a definite pattern and programme, any subject may be discussed ; but eventually each group becomes a worshipping unit, reading and studying the Bible. To help this network of groups to function better, Canon Southcott has abandoned his Sunday evening services. This pattern has been followed—often without conscious imitation—in many different countries. It has been the natural reaction to breakdown in community.

The English Methodists have a long tradition of dealing with labour. Nonetheless, they too face a crisis in communication. They are inclined, despite their long history of sympathy with the labouring classes in country and city, to produce pious groups holding prayer meetings apart. They have seen the weakness of this pietist tradition and there have always been men like Scott Lidgett to do battle against it. Today several experiments are being tried. There are churches made into community centres and specific methods of evangelism. The so-called 'commando campaigns' of the war years were largely organised by the Methodists as attempts to take the Christian message into places where people gather for work or entertainment. The Methodists also have one established Industrial Mission to which is attached a college for training ministers to work in industrial areas.

The spirit behind this is an energetic and brilliant minister, William Gowland. After two unusual and highly successful ministries in Reading and Manchester, where he effectively made contact with classes not usually touched by the churches, he went to Luton. He asked for an empty church, and was given a church seating 2,000 which for years had a congregation of less than 40. He then set to work getting to know the needs of Luton. He visited factories and made himself useful. He took his stand in the marketplace as the Communists did. He entered into every place of life at Luton until he was accepted as a man, a useful and reasonable man, who seemed

to know what he was talking about and to live by what he believed. Then he turned to his church. He re-arranged the whole organization of the church to meet the need of the workers. He even rebuilt it to make them feel more at home, and included a canteen. In all this he refused financial aid from the factory owners. He too would not be labelled 'the boss's man.'

Today his large congregation is a strange sight—quite unlike the average church congregation, particularly in prosperous Luton. Men who attend his church from the factories feel at home and his sermons seem to make sense. It is doubtful whether the members of an average Methodist church would feel equally at home; but his old members have welcomed the change and largely support him. There is now a training school attached to the church, where men are trained to go into other industrial areas. William Gowland believes that any man can so be trained to do what he has done at Luton. Many question this and it has yet to be proved. The ultimate success of this remarkable work will depend upon how far it can be repeated. For we have not bridged this great divide by producing a few bridgeheads on the other side or a few brilliant men who are accepted by the workers. The whole Church must cross.

The other Free Churches in England also have training courses to equip their ministers and laymen to work together in industrial areas; but there is little doubt that the Methodists, the largest Free Church in England, lead the way.

As we turn to *Wales* in search of similar work, we find no shortage of ministers and laymen who realise the gravity of the problem. Wales is for most of us the land of singing, of trade unions in chapels, and the Welsh Revival. It has its own peculiar characteristics as different from England as its language. In the great days of the Revival thousands of miners and other workers flocked into the chapels of Wales. Hymns and preaching swayed the masses and later the chapels were reinvigorated as the cultural centres of the valleys. Everything centred on the chapel. There the poor received their real education and religion and culture went hand in hand. Every Welsh boy had the ambition to go to a University and large numbers did. The chapel taught them and, even more important, the chapel taught the whole community to live together and to spend its scanty leisure profitably. In the chapel was the local choir, the dramatic society, the football club, and in the chapel the trade unions

held their meetings. It was an idyllic period half a century ago, when relations between chapel and labour could not have been better.

Then came the war, the First World War, and the chapels failed. Bitter strife between church and chapel led eventually to disestablishment, but it did not increase respect for either of the protagonists. Both failed to recognise the new world that had emerged from the First World War and then the greatest failure of all came with the years of unemployment and depression. Men turned bitterly away from their ineffective chapels, preaching peace when there was no peace. The chapels themselves lost their sense of proportion and began to exaggerate the importance of clinging to an old morality. The desecration of the Sabbath, the denial of a minor piece of doctrine, slight aberrations in sexual behaviour, were all counted as sins more vile than the exploitation of the worker. The voice of Amos was hardly ever heard. The young men in particular turned away. The Welsh-speaking churches are still well attended; but that is for nationalist rather than religious reasons.

Groups of ministers throughout Wales are trying to understand the reasons for the present estrangement and some of the best thinking in Europe is going on in the valleys. The root cause is recognised as a breakdown in communication. Modern preaching is being developed along lines suited to pierce the hard crust of mass industrial society. Things are beginning to improve in Wales, not by the provision of community centres, but by the slow rebuilding of the chapel into the life of a modern community and by the re-examination of preaching. There are no really exciting experiments but there is much solid work and clear thinking.

A very different situation is seen in *Scotland*. At present the most hopeful part of Britain, Scotland is a nation of theologians and there has never been any lack of clear thinking about the application of the Christian faith to modern conditions; but this generation has seen a revolution in the outreach of the Church of Scotland to the industrial workers.

Before the Second World War, a movement started on the little Scottish island of Iona, which has had important consequences for British church-life and has contributed much to the rediscovery of the meaning of community. Scottish ministers had a way of appearing vastly superior to their lay brethren; versed in theology, they seemed high and lifted up. So their people thought, and so they themselves began to

believe. During the unemployment period of the 1930's, a Scottish Presbyterian minister in an industrial parish saw the stupidity of this separateness and began to get down beside the workers, and he saw that ministers must come close to the problems of daily work. On Iona there was an opportunity to blend manual work with theology and worship, for an ancient cathedral stood in ruins. George Macleod called on his fellow ministers and laymen to rebuild together the Abbey Church of Iona. From that desire to bring ministers into real contact with manual work has sprung the Iona Community. It is not a religious order in the catholic sense, neither is it an attempt to revive the monastic life in protestantism. It is simply an association of ministers and laity, who continue their daily work and in it seek to discover together with meaning of the Christian community for today.

The Iona community has profoundly influenced Scottish church-life. So much so, that George Macleod—once the *enfant terrible* of the Church of Scotland—is this year's Moderator, the highest church office in Scotland. The community has sent an army of young ministers into the parishes of Scotland, particularly the industrial parishes, with a new determination to reconcile the Scots to their church again. They have done much. Kitchen kirks abound, where neighbours meet together in friendly fashion to discuss the problems of the neighbourhood and eventually to study their Bibles together. A radio mission has been successfully carried through with all the resources of Scottish broadcasting. A movement called " Tell Scotland " has been at work, uniting Church of Scotland and Free Churches in the common efforts to reclaim the lapsed for the churches of Scotland. All this can be traced back to Iona and at the heart of the " Tell Scotland " movement is a group of Iona men. Despite George Macleod's personal opposition to Billy Graham, it was these men who invited the American Evangelist to Scotland and carried through his campaign, integrating it later into the continuing life of " Tell Scotland." In all, the search for community remains and it is being discovered in Bible study. One of the principal differences between the German Kirchentag and the Scottish Kirk Week will be that instead of a few mass Bible studies, Scotland will have 100 small groups.

As we move away from Britain, the most interesting country in post-war Europe is undeniably *Germany*. The defeat gave her the opportunity for a completely new start. German churches also carried into the post-war period their

experiences of the bitter struggle with Nazism. During the time of their struggle they had learnt to use their Bible in the modern world. It had flamed up as the living Word of God. Christian ministers studied the Scriptures to determine what their attitude should be to the latest Nazi decree and they found the Bible remarkably relevant. This led to the post-war development of the *Evangelische Akademies*. At first these were modest enough. They were in simple, adapted buildings, the first at Bad Boll, and provided meeting places for Christians of similar vocation to discuss the ethical problems of their work. Farmers gathered to discuss the ethics of the black market at a time when the withholding of food in Land Niedersachsen was starving the people of Hamburg. Journalists met together, largely under the inspiration of Hans Lilje, and discussed the ethics of reporting. From these modest beginnings, which were of immense importance for the application of the Christian faith to modern life, there have developed the imposing academies of today. Each Land has its own special building and many of these academies are now like luxury hotels. This development seems to me not to have been wholly good. They are too elaborate and more likely to be used by the owners than the workers who inevitably feel uncomfortable in such surroundings. They have also become academic. If you examine the programme of any academy you will see how the professional classes dominate it. There are very few courses where ordinary industrial workers are able to discuss the ethics of their job. This is done much more easily at the Swiss Academy near Zürich, which is a more modest institution than most of those in Germany.

Another unfortunate development of the academies has been their separation from the local churches. People who attend conferences return with new ideas to their local churches, but find little to encourage them. There thus develops an *élite* who meet periodically for discussion, but are separated from the ordinary members and often discouraged by the minister. Bad Boll has tried to meet this by follow-up work in the local churches. They have selected two country parishes, at Plochingen and Gross-sachsenheim, where the ministers are fully sympathetic to the ideas of the Academy. This follow-up work is very important. It gives true value to the discussions at the academy, by putting them into effect where they really matter—at the local level.

The relation between Socialist and Church in Germany is no better than anywhere else in Europe, but something is

being attempted. Heinz Kloppenburg, an Oberkirchenrat of Oldenburg, and one-time German representative at the World Council of Churches in Geneva, has been appointed to improve these relations at Dortmund. He has there established himself with a pulpit when he wants it. He arranges lectures to attract workers and church people on issues which concern them both. He was able to identify himself with the S.P.D. in their opposition to re-armament and helped to organise the referendum which showed that a considerable proportion of the population of Dortmund were opposed to the re-armament of West Germany. After this work together, he was invited to address an S.P.D. meeting on the meaning of a Christian conscience. He is now fully accepted and lectures regularly at the industrial training institute. He has also been able to bring together in conference S.P.D. local Secretaries and Lutheran ministers, and in other ways helped mutual understanding. Klaus von Bismarck is attempting this in his own way in Haus Villigst in the Ruhr Gebiet, and there are, of course, others in Germany working on similar lines.

Germany has lost her initial advantage of beginning afresh and there is little that we can learn from her more recent experiments. She is becoming muscle-bound again. But a careful study of what has been done, particularly in the years immediately following the war, yields material of value to us all. There is also the Kirchentag. This spontaneous flowering of a laymen's movement in the churches promises much, but at present it is not really attracting the bulk of the industrial workers. It is, however, forcing the churches to study their Bible in relation to modern problems. The refugees, the re-union of Germany, re-armament and various other common problems have been presented to the Kirchentag. The imitation of this movement in other countries also shows promise. Holland, France and Scotland are all developing their own types. They are important for our subject because they compel the laymen of the churches to apply their Christian faith to the problems of an industrial society. They also compel the minister so to instruct his members that they can do this. Bible study has become much more relevant in those countries which have prepared for a Kirchentag.

In *Holland* the Kerkdag has taken on local forms; but more important than this is an institution, founded by three men in a German concentration camp, called *Kerk en Wereld* (Church and World). They occupied their time in the camp by trying to answer the question "Why did the German

people choose Hitlerism ?" Together with Dr. Gravemeyer, a minister of the Reformed Church, and Dr. Banning, a prominent economist and sociologist, Dr. Jopie Eijkman, who was at one time director of the Amsterdam Society for Young Men (the Dutch Y.M.C.A.), saw the need to extend the Church's influence to redeem society. His answer to the question was that the German church had had too little concern for the people and for society. They had allowed themselves, then good German Christians, to be shut up in their churches. They had not really known the society in which they lived. He wanted his own church (Reformed) to care for all the needs of the people and not to be solely concerned with increasing its numbers and keeping itself going. These three men founded *Kerk en Wereld* as an effort to bring the Gospel to the people in every aspect of their life.

The training courses began in 1945 and the first students graduated in 1949, until now there are more than 100 taking their places in the life of industry, agriculture, politics and the civil service. They are all trained Christians, recognising their Christian centre at Driebergen, and from that centre they are influencing the whole life of the Netherlands. This is a good practical Dutch way of making a dream come true. There are no startling headlines, no eloquent sermons, no mass-meetings. Simply the training and sending out of a growing army of church workers. It is a fully recognised institution at which sociology, psychology and moral welfare are properly taught up to the standard required for jobs as welfare workers in industry and as government social workers.

The story of how Eijkman's dream became a reality would include an account of how Holland recovered from the terrible ordeal of German occupation and how the Church emerged from that ordeal much stronger than when it began. The blood of Holland's martyrs became the seed of a living Church. Such a Church could no longer feel that its strength lay in separation from the world, in factory and farm, in trade union, school and radio.

The money for this new venture was saved from the Church's collections which could not be used during the Nazi occupation, and part of it was used to purchase *De Horst*, the lovely estate near Driebergen, which is a few miles out of Amsterdam and quite near to the university town of Utrecht. There the dream became a reality and the intervening years have seen new buildings for new ventures, including a ministers' seminary to help ministers to realise the new force that

may come into their parish, and an excellent library. The students are called *Wikas*, the initials of a Dutch phrase meaning 'workers in church-sponsored activities.' They are found the right jobs at the end of this training. This will be where they are most needed or where their abilities can best be used. They are found in full-time church work, in adult education, and also in key positions of social service where they are in great demand by industry, local authorities and government departments. Particularly in these latter positions, they are able to reach many who have no other contact with the Church. There is also an important part of the work with trade unions, where many students from Driebergen are to be found in full-time employment.

They have proved their merit on many occasions, such as the disastrous floods five years ago, when they not only came as trained welfare workers, but also as spiritual guides. They have done much, too, to help village communities to meet the disruptive forces of industrialization. The work at Driebergen, now more than 11 years old, has branched out in all directions, training laymen to exercise their spiritual leadership in a professional way, and is one of the most important experiments in Christian welfare that Europe knows today. It has, of course, its weaknesses. Some of the young men who have not been sent to specific posts, such as welfare officers, but are simply church-sponsored workers, are sometimes quite lonely and frustrated, feeling that *Kerk en Wereld* has left them alone in a frontier situation. This is a single example of weakness amidst an exciting venture. The greatest hindrance to the work of *Kerk en Wereld* is the inability of the local congregations to understand this new work or adjust their life to meet the new situation.

This last point is well illustrated in the situation in *France*. One of the most exciting experiments in modern times, to approach the industrial workers, has been that of the worker-priests of the Roman Catholic church. These were accepted by the workers. They recognised the integrity of men who became real workers and identified themselves with the conditions and the loneliness of the working-class population of France. It was the Church authorities who took fright and closed down the movement. This movement, however, has influenced similar movements in the Roman Catholic church and the work of the Protestant churches in France.

The general principle of the worker-priest movement was that the priest should become a worker and exercise his priest-

hood from within the workers' world. He should not go to the worker with something from outside but sharing the worker's life should also exercise his priesthood. This led to astonishing experiments—for example, the Mass was said in workers' flats and often interrupted with dialogue and explanation. Priests became Secretaries of local trade unions and even took part, with Communists, in demonstrations against injustice. They so identified themselves with the workers that they resorted at times to violence. It was this which first alarmed the Church. Later it was discovered that many priests, to all intents and purposes, became Communists. But the main reason for ending the worker-priest movement was that it called in question the Catholic doctrine of the priesthood. It seemed to deny the separation between clergy and laity.

While this separation must be maintained in the Roman Catholic church, the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers makes it possible for Protestant pastors to enter fully into the life of the workers without any fear of calling in question their priesthood. Unfortunately very few Protestant pastors have been able to do this. In theory it is possible, in practice it is hindered by the intellectual character of the Protestant pastors. They do not, on the whole, come from the working classes but are *bourgeois*. The Reformed Church of France has been deeply concerned about the separation of the Church from the labour movements, and has set up certain centres of evangelism in industrial areas. The method is the same everywhere and it can be illustrated from two centres, one in Aubervilliers, a communist suburb of Paris, and the other in Bordeaux.

In Aubervilliers a simple mission hall, with attached premises, was set up to permit conversation between workers and ordinary church members. It has not so far achieved anything like a strong impact upon the district, but it has been able to provide for work among children, particularly widening their interest, and a centre of meeting to which even Communists come with ease. This usually means that the 'foyer', as it is called, must organise film shows, parties and social evenings. The religious element in these centres is at a minimum ; but friendship is being established between the pastors (Jean Hoibian is at Aubervilliers) and those who live in the district. His centre is looked upon as a good place for meeting people. The weakness in that experiment is the failure to link the foyer in Aubervilliers with any strong congregational life. It is just a small mission church attached to the Centre of Evangelism in Paris.

In Bordeaux there is a similiar experiment, which has the advantage of being attached to a strong parish church. The *Foyer Fraternel* in Bordeaux is also in a poor and communist quarter, but is part of a parish church which is one of the most *bourgeois* in France. One half of the parish is served by the respectable and fashionable parish church of Chartrons ; the other half is served by the *Foyer Fraternel.* There are thus two problems. First, how to get the ordinary workers into the *Foyer Fraternel* ; that problem is being solved. Pastor Pierre Fouchier is using his centre for discussion of all manner of problems. The workers can come along and talk about the ethics of strike action and there is no difficulty in beginning a typical French discussion on church premises. The whole atmosphere is easy and those who come seem to have no inhibitions. The pastor is known in the neighbourhood and is constantly there to help people. There is also a children's centre and relief work is carried out in a most democratic way. Gifts which are sent to the *Foyer* are not simply given away, they are sorted out by the people themselves and prices fixed so that the need may be satisfied in this poor area without the feeling of patronage. This first problem is being solved well and the *Foyer* will continue to make an impact upon the neighbourhood.

The second problem is to link this *Foyer* with the parish church. That is not yet satisfactorily solved. It is one thing to persuade the workers to come along and talk about strikes in the *Foyer.* It is another thing to persuade them that they can feel equally at home in the fashionable parish church. Eventually, however, this bridge has to be built. The important thing is that an attempt is being made to establish the life and worship of the Church in a working-class atmosphere.

There are many such experiments in France and behind them lies a considerable amount of good honest thinking. The French churches are intellectual, and while this is a weakness in separating them from the workers, it is a strength in enabling them to see clearly the problems which they face in a modern world. A conference centre has been established at Villemétrie where pastors and laymen can gather together to discuss the problems of today. The centre resembles the *Evangelische Akademies* of Germany but has the added advantage of French logic and French conversation. Despite this strong intellectual character, however, the French churches are facing a big problem with their intellectuals. Existentialism has permeated more deeply into the life of

France than into any other country, and the Reformed Church of France is having its resources stretched to the limit in trying to deal with it.

The last of the countries with which I want to deal is one which I visited as part of a comparative study of those lands that have felt the pressure of Communism. In the course of a few months I was able to visit Hungary, the Soviet zone of Germany, and Finland. All these three countries, in quite different ways, have met militant Communism. They have each dealt with it in their own way. When I was in Hungary it was clear that the country was in turmoil, wanting Communism but not Russian domination. The churches were therefore much nearer to the working-classes because on the whole they accept some form of Communism. They had lived down the past, when the Church was identified with the rich landowners. In any case, the rich landowners no longer exist. In Eastern Germany the churches were fighting Communism, but in this battle they had many of the working-class families with them. The battle, however, is an uneven one and the Church is losing, gradually. It has already lost most of the men, except in small groups.

Finland, however, is a very different picture. There Russian Communism has been met and dealt with. Finland stands between two extremes. On the one hand Sweden, on the other hand the Soviet Union. She has looked at both and dislikes them both equally. The relation between Church and Labour in Finland is embittered by the terrible historical background, though that is being lived down. There are many Church leaders in Finland who see that unless the Church can repent for its past action and go in friendly gesture to the Labour leaders at this time it has no future in influencing the life of the country. So that one sees in Finland today men like Bishop Gulin who are completely accepted by the Socialists, and men like Pastor Partanen who is a Socialist member of a local council. There is a move, both in the churches and among some Socialists, towards a form of Christian Socialism. When I discussed with a group of Socialists the relation between the Church and Labour they maintained that the churches could be the inspiration which they needed. They had grown dissatisfied with Communism and were looking for an ideal that could lead Socialism on to greater heights.

In the course of that discussion they outlined four sermons which they would like to hear preached in the churches of

Finland today. The first was on forgiveness, explaining how to forgive : the second was on hatred, telling people that they should not hate and why they should not hate : the third was to be an explanation of the parable of the sheep and the goats, leading to direct questions and asking why the hearers did not visit those in prison, etc. : the fourth should contain specific examples of what the Church was doing to meet injustice in the world. These needed to be specific examples and not general talk about the great social witness of the Church.

In all these countries one thing is evident. That the development of mass society has led to the need for a restoration of man-to-man discussion. In this the Church could have a very big part to play. It could help to restore human solidarity. If one man on behalf of the working-classes in the world were to address the churches I think it would be to ask them to change their forms in such a revoluntionary way that very many of their own members might be offended ; for if the churches are to move outside their own little circles and do anything more than capture a few prisoners from the outside world, there must be a radical change in all departments of the Church's life. In particular there are five areas where there has been a breakdown and where restoration is needed. Briefly these areas are :

1. The worship of the Church, which has become largely unintelligible :

2. The fellowship of the Church, which was once its glory and now has become its reproach :

3. The ethical attitudes of the Church, which once helped Christians to stand out as those whose lives were governed by clear principles but now have become a tangled mass of customs and habits :

4. The witness of the Church, whereby it speaks to those outside its borders, a witness which in our day has become either unintelligible or ambiguous :

5. The basic beliefs of the Church which are required of a man when he is asked to join. For quite apart from the differences between different denominations, the world is confused by what it is asked to believe, and the Church itself is not always sure as to why it should impose those beliefs.

MAN IN SOCIETY

Some Aspects of the Thought of Martin Buber

By Edgar Jones, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.

The recent examination of the work of Martin Buber undertaken by Professor Maurice Friedman[1] has underlined the impact made by this germinal writing. In thinker after thinker we find that the concept of Dialogue and Relation owes much for its discussion and application to the publication of Buber's *I and Thou*[2].

In this brief article our purpose is to outline the main concepts of I-Thou and I-It and then to illustrate in particular the sociological element in his thought.

The world, says, Buber, has a dual meaning which is expressed by the fundamental difference between our relationship to people and our relationship to things. The primary word of relation is I-Thou. The primary word of experiencing and using is I-It. It is, however, an over-simplification to define the person to person relationship as invariably I-Thou or the person to object relation as I-It without further qualification. Within the context of dialogue and relation we need the reminder that persons are not always persons and things not always things. As Friedman notes, " the Thou of I-Thou is not limited to man but may include animals, trees, objects of nature, and God . . . The It of I-It may equally well be a he, she, an animal, a thing, a spirit, or even God, without a change in the primary word."[3]

These two relations are expressed by Buber in his own words in the following way :

> The *Thou* meets me through grace—it is not found by seeking. But my speaking of the primary word to it is an act of my being, is indeed *the* act of my being. The *Thou* meets me. But I step into direct relation with it. Hence the relation means being chosen and choosing, suffering and action in one ; just as any action of the whole being, which means the suspension of all partial

[1]Maurice S. Friedman, *Martin Buber : The Life of Dialogue* (1955).

[2]See for example the work of the following creative minds which owe much to the stimulus of Buber's thought : John Baillie, *Our Knowledge of God* (1939), pp. 201-239; Nicolas Berdyaev, *Solitude and Society* (1938), pp. 97,106 ; H. H. Farmer, *The Servant of the Word* (1942), chapter 2 : also John Macmurray, *The Structure of Religious Experience* (1936) who independently reaches a similar conclusion concerning the element of dialogue in human relationships.

[3]Op. cit., p. 57. See also J. H. Oldham, *Supplt. to Christian Newsletter*, No. 112 (Dec. 17th. 1941) for the same warning about regarding the I-Thou and I-It relationships too rigidly.

actions and consequently of all sensations of actions grounded only in their particular limitation, is bound to resemble suffering. The primary word *I-Thou* can be spoken only with the whole being. Concentration and fusion into the whole being can never take place through my agency, nor can it take place without me. I become through my relation to the *Thou*; as I become *I*, I say *Thou*. All real living is meeting.[4]

Concerning the world of I-It Buber writes:

The primary relation of man to the world of *It* is comprised in *experiencing*, which continually reconstitutes the world, and *using*, which leads the world to its manifold aim, the sustaining, relieving, and equipping of human life. In proportion to the growing extent of the world of *It*, ability to experience and use it must grow . . . Taking his stand in the shelter of the primary word of separation, which holds off the *I* and the *It* from one another, he has divided his life with his fellow-men into two tidily circled-off provinces, one of institutions and the other of feelings—the province of *It* and the province of *I*. Institutions are 'outside', where all sorts of aims are pursued, where a man works, negotiates, bears influence, undertakes, concurs, organises, conducts business, officiates, preaches. They are the tolerably well-ordered and to some extent harmonious structure, in which, with the manifold help of men's brains and hands, the process of affairs is fulfilled.[5]

In a recent study of the theology of Martin Buber, R. Gregor Smith has written of the three strands of thought in our culture and the evidences of them to be found in *I and Thou* and even more explicitly in the later writings of Buber. These three strands are the Jewish, the Christian and the sociological. The purpose of this article is to consider the sociological element in the writings of Buber all the time remembering the caveat of R. Gregor Smith, "But the streams meet; they have already met, they are a shining indissoluble unity, in *I and Thou*; and no separation of them is possible."[6]

For the purpose of this outline we shall consider briefly the thought of Buber and its relevance to three issues of our social concern, namely:

[4] *I and Thou*, p. 11.

[5] Ibid., pp. 38, 43.

[6] *The Theology of Martin Buber*, *art.* in *Theology Today*, (July 1955), p. 207.

I. Technics and Personal Values.
II. The Individual and the Collective.
III. Problems of Communication.

I. Technics and Personal Values

By technics we mean the issues that are raised by the technical revolution and its impact upon social and spiritual life of man. The war upon hunger and want is no longer hopeless. Medical and hygienic techniques in themselves are sufficient to guarantee a healthy development of the physical life and greatly extend the life of man. The newer techniques of communication evidenced in the cinema, radio and television as extensions of the printing press allow the communication of our cultural heritage and assets. Here is indisputable gain. Yet we need the reminder of Brunner[7] when he writes: " ' Technics ' is an abstraction which does not exist. There are only men working technically for certain purposes." The eternal issue is posed by the same thinker[8]: " The nature of technics is to place at man's disposal the means for certain purposes. Of course, the production and use of technical means is in itself a purpose, but it is never a *Selbstzweck*, an ultimate purpose. It is essential to the health of a society that this order of ends and means should be known and recognised, so that technics as the sum of means is subordinated to man's life . . . When, for instance, a country rejoices over the growth of a city of millions of inhabitants, this is as stupid as if someone were to rejoice over the growth of a cancer. Giant cities are merely symptoms, but they are obvious symptoms of autonomous technical growth which finally leads to destruction. The positive meaning of a human civilisation depends on this subordination of means to ends."

On this issue of technics as a rigid example of ends becoming enslaved by a terrifying capacity to perfect means, what has Buber to say? Two passages poetical in form with a deep philosophic core illuminate his thought.

> This is part of the basic truth of the human world, that only *It* can be arranged in order. Only when things, from being our *Thou*, become our *It*, can they be co-ordinated. The *Thou* knows no system of co-ordination. But now that we have come so far, it is necessary to set down the other part of the basic truth, without which this would be a useless fragment—namely, a world that is ordered is not the world-order.[9]

[7] E. Brunner, *Christianity and Civilisation* (1949), Part II, p. 9.
[8] Ibid, pp. 12-13.
[9] *I and Thou*, pp. 30-1.

Speaking of the world of the economist he writes :

> he looks on the men with whom he has to deal not as bearers of the *Thou* that cannot be experienced but as centres of work and effort, whose particular capabilities it is his concern to estimate and utilise. Would his world not fall in on him if, instead of adding up *He* and *He* and *He* to make an *It*, he tried to calculate the sum of *Thou* and *Thou* and *Thou*—which never yields anything but *Thou* again?[10] And in all seriousness of truth, hear this : without *It* man cannot live. But he who lives with *It* alone is not a man.[11]

Here in memorable and poetic form is the insight that illuminates the technical mastery of means without ends, of planning and ordering, and reaffirms that the essential end of technics is serving men who can become Thou—that is, responsible people who can communicate.

II. The Individual and the Collective

We turn to consider a further area of human experience which reveals pressures that affect the being and behaviour of a man. In the post-war *Declarations of Human Rights*[12] we see the poignant protest of the individual against false collectives and their pseudo-sovereignty.

Some such collectives are the State, Race, even Community. The individual is often submerged in these larger groupings whilst they try to serve him in theory.

The idea of human rights as Brunner has noted is of comparative recent origin : " By it we mean that there are things belonging to man as such, rights which precede the State, which the State has to acknowledge, but which it cannot create, 'birthrights of manhood' founded on God's creation."[13] The individual with his rights is limited by the rights of community. This is different in essence from the collectivist subordination of the individual by such agencies as the State or any mass movement based on race or even stemming from large scale political blocs in the present day trade union movement.

Buber in his *Between Man and Man*[14] underlines this contemporary issue :

[10] Ibid., p. 47.
[11] Ibid., p. 34.
[12] See *United Nations Organisation Literature.*
[13] Op. cit., p.p. 110-111.
[14] M. Buber, *Between Man and Man* (1947), p. 31.

> The feeling of community does not reign where the desired change of institutions is wrested in common, but without community, from a resisting world . . . Collectivity is not a binding but a bundling together : individuals packed together, armed and equipped in common, with only as much life from man to man as will inflame the marching step. But community, growing community (which is all we have known so far) is the being no longer side by side but *with* one another of a multitude of persons. And this multitude, though it also moves towards one goal, yet experiences everywhere a turning to, a dynamic facing of, the other, a flowing from *I* to *Thou*. Community is where community happens.

Using familiar categories of our generation, youth movement and collective undertaking, Buber paints a warning picture :

> The men of the 'collective' look down superciliously on the 'sentimentality' of the generation before them, of the age of the 'youth movement' . . . The man of the youth movement, pondering his problems, was concerned (whatever the particular matter at different times) with his very own share in it, he 'experienced' his *I* without pledging a self—in order not to have to pledge a self in response and responsibility. The man of the collective undertaking, striding to action, succeeded beforehand in getting rid of himself and thus radically escaping the question of pledging a self.[15]

It is against this background that we can feel the urgency of the closing paragraph of *Citizens of Tomorrow* :

> . . . the more their formal education fits them for living in a technical age, the wider the experience which scientific developments offer to them, the more crucial becomes the question, " What sort of human beings are they going to grow up to be ?[16]

Will they be allowed to be individuals or lose their souls in the great collectives and, in Buber's phrase, escape the question of pledging a self ?

III. Problem of Communication

The third issue of contemporary concern in the thought of Buber is that of Communication. We shall look at two

[15] *Between Man and Man*, p. 32.

[16] *Citizens of Tomorrow*, Report of King George VI, Jubilee Trust (1956).

aspects briefly ; the problem as it arises in Education and in Industry.

(*a*) *Communication in the sphere of Education* :

In a brief but penetrating study of the tensions and challenges that characterize the experience of growing up in the modern world, Marjorie Reeves speaks of education and its meaning and values : " The school's job is to grapple with controversial matters not to avoid them, for to make sense of the world you must ask : What is all this for ? Are these doings good or bad ? . . . The plea of getting through the syllabus is no excuse for avoiding discussion which contributes to the most important part of education—the building up of one's own philosophy. If every part of the curriculum carries implications of values, every subject teacher in handling these must shoulder responsibility for 'religious education'."[17]

This element of value in the relationship between the educator and the pupil is expressed by Buber in terms of dialogue. He writes :

> The education of men by men means the selection of the effective world by a person and in him. The educator gathers in the constructive forces of the world. He distinguishes, rejects, and confirms in himself, in his self which is filled with the world. The constructive forces are eternally the same : they are the world bound up in community, turned to God.[18]

The way ahead is crystallised by a recognition of the profundity of Buber's dictum : " The relation in education is one of pure dialogue."[19]

(*b*) *Communication in Industry* :

A final practical expression of the *I-Thou* principle of Buber is to be found in the field of industrial relationships. The situation is posed in a recent discussion of the formation of Joint Consultation Committees : " The Committee will be told that 'Music While You Work' was cut off five minutes too soon the day before yesterday, that Mr. So-and-So slipped and nearly fell in a pool of lubricating oil which some engineer had carelessly failed to remove. But, so far as co-operation or frank and mutual exchange of views is concerned, many of these Committees accomplish nothing.[20] A similar break-

[17] Marjorie Reeves, *Growing up in a Modern Society* (1946), pp. 65-6. See also C. S. Lewis, *The Abolition of Man* (1943) on the implied values behind the teaching of English.

[18] *Between Man and Man*, p. 101.

[19] *Between Man and Man*, p. 98.

[20] J. A. C. Brown, *The Social Psychology of Industry* (1954), p. 101.

down of communication is pictured in the " New Statesman and Nation " : " Here are my mate and I, grown women, with the firm for three months, and we know less of the how and the why than any visitor who gapes round of an afternoon. We know nothing of its history, war record, personalities, triumphs, profits, losses, experiments, difficulties—where the raw materials come from, where our two thousand boxes each day go off to—who knows ? And, of course, we know nothing whatever of our firm's part in the production drive. Are we hitting the target ? Have we got a target ?"[21]

From these indications of the stresses caused in industry by the break-down of Communication in the human relationships we may turn to Buber for another germinal passage.

> No factory and no office is so abandoned by creation that a creative glance could not fly up from one working-place to another, from desk to desk, a sober brotherly glance which guarantees the reality of creation which is happening . . . And nothing is so valuable a service of dialogue between God and man as such an unsentimental and unreserved exchange of glances between two men in an alien place.[22]

We have glanced briefly in this sketch of the thought of Buber, at the basic relationships of *I-Thou* and *I-It*, as they relate to the current issues of technics, collectives and communication. Surely Buber has a word for our age in the profundity of his concept of man in society. A final passage indicates the road we must take as persons and as a society.

> Man is in a growing measure sociologically determined. But this growing is the maturing of a task not in the " ought " but in the " may " and in " need ", in longing and in grace. It is a matter of renouncing the pantechnical mania or habit with its easy " mastery " of every situation ; of taking everything up into the might of dialogue of the genuine life, from the trivial mysteries of everyday to the majesty of destructive destiny. The task becomes more and more difficult, and more and more essential, the fulfilment more and more impeded and more and more rich in decision.[23]

[21] Ibid., pp. 217-8.

[22] *Between Man and Man*, pp. 36-37.

[23] *Between Man and Man*, p. 39.

UNBELIEF AND ITS CAUSES

By A. G. Curnow

A recent writer says that nowadays " Everything tends to be dragged down to the level at which it is intellectually understandable or emotionally satisfying to the man who has neither purified his perceptions, disciplined his will, nor cultivated his mind."[1] Three causes of modern unbelief are here suggested. We will call them—changing the order of the quotation, and altering one of its words—the uncultivated mind, the defective perception, and the undisciplined will.

1 *The Uncultivated Mind*

" We often hear," writes Dean W. R. Matthews, " that Christian faith is out of harmony with modern thought, but it would be equally true to say that it is out of harmony with the lack of modern thought."[2] Beyond a doubt " the lack of modern thought " is a prime cause of the indifference to religion which marks our day. Every now and again we find ourselves confronting some startling manifestation of it. When, for instance, we read in a recent book that " it is reported that one of the world's best-known air-transport companies demands from its pilots, in addition to the usual tests and examinations, the production of a horoscope,"[3] we can but regard it as a deplorable illustration of the reaction against reason, and the consequent growth of superstition, which is infecting modern life. A hundred years ago Kierkegaard, in an unfortunate phrase, asserted that " the crucifixion of intelligence is the condition for entrance into the kingdom of God."[4] Nowadays it would seem that the crucifixion of intelligence, or something very like it—the renunciation of intelligence, at any rate—is a chief means of keeping people outside the kingdom of God.

And it is not only a matter of the unintelligence of the mass of the people ; we have also to take into consideration the unintelligence of the " intelligentsia." " Many men criticize and even oppose Christianity," writes Dr. John Baillie, " without ever having taken much trouble to discover what it is all about . . . It is remarkable what nonsense is spoken about it even by men of the highest distinction in departmental fields of knowledge."[5] " Nonsense " is not too

[1] Lawrence Hyde, *The Prospects of Humanism*, p. 16.
[2] " Daily Telegraph," February 23, 1952.
[3] G. S. Spinks (Ed.), *Religion in Britain since* 1900, p. 182.
[4] Quo. by J. K. Mozley, *Some Tendencies in British Theology*, p. 141.
[5] *Invitation to Pilgrimage*, p. 13.

strong a word. Some of these writers it has been said, seem to derive their knowledge of theology from their washerwoman. It would be still nearer the mark to say that the source was their washerwoman's grandmother. Bishop Gore puts the point with forceful restraint: "The critics and repudiators of the Christian tradition so often appear to have confined their study of Christianity to the theology of a hundred years ago . . . They exhibit an ignorance of Christian thought at its best, whether ancient or modern, the like of which in the treatment of science would expose a theologian to well-merited ignominy."[6]

This "ignorance of Christian thought at its best" is seen in the acceptance of superseded aspects and antiquated categories of religion as still valid. Balaam's ass and Jonah's whale are taken at their literal face-value, and quite a number of modern writers apparently believe that the doctrine of hell-fire, in its crudest form, is still proclaimed from many if not most of the pulpits of this country. This lamentable absence of acquaintance with modern Christian theology, as represented by its sanest and best-equipped exponents, results in much present-day unbelief.

The uncultivated mind may also be seen in the naïve assumption of the adequacy of science to pronounce on matters altogether outside its province. We live, as we are often reminded, in a scientific age, but one feature of it is the thoroughly unscientific belief in the infallibility of science not only in its own domain but also in all others. That an expert in one realm must be listened to with reverence on all subjects is a complete fallacy, but a very common one. The truth is rather that the expert is *a priori* disqualified when he ventures off his own ground. For the tendency of scientific specialisation is to shut out the appreciation of life's other values. The expert often reaches his eminence by denying himself an all-round culture. The consequence is that, however valuable the judgment of specialists on their own specialities, their opinions on anything beside may be less worthy of attention than the ordinary individual's. But those opinions are accepted as final by the uncultivated mind of the general reader, often to the undermining of confidence in the spiritual foundation of the universe.

Modern psychology, even more than the various branches of physical science, lays itself open to criticism in this connection. Many psychologists assert that all reasoning in defence of religion is merely an *a posteriori* attempt to justify by

[6] *Philosophy of the Good Life*, p. 269 (Everyman Ed.)

argument opinions dictated by irrational likes and dislikes which lie hidden in our subconsciousness. The average individual does not detect the fallacy lurking in this contention: that all theories based on the irrationality of mental processes destroy themselves. "A brilliant young psychologist," writes Canon Peter Green, "spent some time demonstrating to me the necessarily irrational nature of all my beliefs. He said they . . . were merely the result of purely irrational desires and repulsions in the subconscious . . . I asked him if the same was true of his psychological theories; were they also irrational outcrops from the subconscious; and, if not, why not? He had, of course, no answer. He had already successfully destroyed the basis of all rational discussion."[7]

But all this is far from being realized by the untrained and unreflecting reader of certain varieties of psychological treatises, and the outcome is that he comes to think that psychology has demonstrated that there is no objective reality in religious experience; and tends to abandon his religious beliefs as not only explained but explained away.

2 *The Defective Perception*

In the biography of Thomas Hardy reference is made to the effect of the war of 1914-18 on his mind and outlook. "The war destroyed all Hardy's belief in the gradual ennoblement of man . . . Moreover, the war gave the *coup de grâce* to any conception he may have nourished of a fundamental ultimate wisdom at the back of things."[8]

Here is another and entirely different reaction to the same catastrophe, quoted from the memoir of one who died in 1918: "He does not seem to have been convinced that the war had added any new perplexities to faith . . . . He knew that the world had experienced similar catastrophes before . . . He had long ago faced the difficulties which such things present to the believer in the God and Father of Jesus Christ: and he found nothing that was novel in the terrors of the latest strife. I think he was puzzled to understand how men of historical knowledge and imagination should have their faith destroyed by being required to face in their own time such facts of human sin and anguish as they had always known to be part of the story of mankind."[9]

The fact is, an adequate philosophy of life, derived from

[7] *I Believe in God*, p. 35.
[8] Florence Hardy, *Later Years of Thomas Hardy*, p. 165.
[9] From a letter in "The Spectator," January 6, 1950.

acquaintance with the long human story, would prevent such destruction. But there is no doubt that large numbers shared Hardy's feelings with reference to the conflagration of his day, and probably many more were similarly affected by the war of 1939-45. This lack of historical knowledge and imagination, this absence of historical perception and insight, is the cause of much of the unbelief of to-day. People do not see the truth which G. K. Chesterton expresses in a characteristic passage: "As for the general view that the Church was discredited by the War—they might as well say that the Ark was discredited by the Flood. When the world goes wrong, it proves rather that the Church is right."[10]

A second form of defective perception is indicated by Prof. Basil Willey: "We seem to discern now that the old 'liberal' values—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, the Rights of Man, tolerance, reverence for each individual as an end and not a means—can only flourish if they are rooted in the religion from which they originally sprang."[11] For several generations past the view has been held by many that these values have no necessary connection with religion. Indeed, some have urged that, for their strengthening, they should be divorced from religion. That divorce has been largely accomplished, and the result is that nowadays, when these values are being invoked against the threat of pagan totalitarianism, their evident weakness is giving alarm to all who have the welfare of the world at heart. But the weakness lies not in the values themselves but in the fact that they are uprooted. They have withered because they have been cut off from their parent stock. And this withering of long-cherished ideals is by the unperceptive regarded as a reason for impugning, not the separation, but Christianity itself.

Another variety of defective perception is what someone has portentously described as "anthropological intimidation." By this is meant the attempt to refute theism by displaying the continuity of the belief in God with primitive delusion. The argument is that the noble conception of Deity gradually arrived at in the course of human thought is discredited because it can be traced back to lowly beginnings in animism and fetishism and the like.

It is an absurd contention. As well say that the modern custom of putting flowers on a grave is discredited because it is traceable to primitive endeavours to placate the spirits of the departed. Indeed, as well say that an oak is discredited

[10] *The Everlasting Man*, p. 5.

[11] *Nineteenth-Century Studies*, p. 131.

because it was once an acorn, or Shakespeare because he started as an embryo. However interesting or valuable a knowledge of origins may be, it is a complete mistake, and a source of infinite confusion, to estimate a doctrine or anything else from its beginnings. It must be estimated, if we are to learn the truth about it, in accordance with the principle of Aristotle's great saying: "The nature of a thing is that which it is when its becoming is completed." But this indefensible and indeed ridiculous habit of looking for the explanation of things in their origins is a snare and a delusion.

Another sort of "intimidation" is the astronomical variety. We are given pathetic pictures of the contemptible figure man presents against the background of "the intolerable vastness of the awful homeless spaces." In former ages, when the earth was thought to be the centre of the universe, it was natural and easy for man to believe in a God who cared for His human children. But now, when we know the earth to be but an astronomically negligible member of a universe which is itself a negligible member of an infinitude of other universes, it is absurd to imagine that the great Creator of it all can enter into personal relations with the denizens of this midget planet.

Here again is a case of defective perception. For man's feeling of insignificance as he contemplates the immensity of the universes scattered through space is really an evidence of his greatness, for it is his mind that appreciates that immensity. "The outward littleness of the lives of men is only demonstrated . . . by the magnitude of man's own intellectual vision . . . The insignificance of our midget planet among the '1500 universes' of Herschel is not so striking as the fact that a mere speck upon our midget planet was able thus to survey and co-ordinate the whole in an intelligible scheme."[12] If mental and spiritual values are the real values, all considerations of bulk are irrelevant, and astronomical intimidation a mere bogey.

3 *The Undisciplined Will.*

The old 'faculty psychology' divided the non-material part of man's nature into intellect, emotion, and will. Nowadays the accepted view is that of the unity of his being—it is the one personality that knows, feels, and wills. All the same, and so long as we bear in mind their mutual interaction, it is convenient for purposes of study to regard these three faculties or functions as distinct entities.

[12] Alfred Noyes, *The Unknown God*, pp. 224, 227

Which of them then is mainly operative in belief and unbelief? While we must not make belief or unbelief exclusively an act of the will the facts of experience go to show that the part played by the will is vital if not crucial. The world, says William James, "puts all sorts of questions to us, and tests us in all sorts of ways . . . But the deepest question that is ever asked admits of no reply but the dumb turning of the will and tightening of our heart-strings as we say, 'Yes, I will even have it so.' "[13]

It follows from this that there may sometimes be a moral reason for unbelief. This is a contention which must be used with great caution, or it degenerates into a reprehensible form of the *argumentum ad hominem*. But there can be no doubt that in some cases, however reluctant we may be (and ought to be) in bringing this indictment against specific individuals, the cause of unbelief is some inward unsatisfactoriness; some fault of character, some perversion of will.

A justly esteemed writer affirms that "the deepest causes of the lost loyalty to the Christian religion in western Europe should . . . be looked for in the changed conditions of modern life and the new forms assumed by the social order."[14] That these changed conditions and new forms are some of the causes of the spiritual degeneration of our day is certainly true. But they are hardly the deepest causes. These are to be found, in our age as in all ages, within the nature of man, and not in his environment. External conditions may influence but do not determine our conclusions on the great issues of life. The outside powers that play upon us, whether "the contagion of the world's slow stain" on the one hand or the grace of God on the other, are not effective in our lives apart from our co-operation. The decision of a man's own soul, the assent of his personality, the casting vote of his will—this is an indispensable factor.

An eminent theologian of our day, in a candid and moving personal confession, asks and answers the question whether "such doubts as I have had about God have had what would usually be called a moral root. Is it because I did not relish God's commandments that I was tempted to deny His being?" And he comes to the conclusion that his doubts were, "in very real degree," of this kind. "Part of the reason why I could not find God was that there is that in God which I did not wish to find. Part of the reason why I could not (or thought I could not) hear Him speak was

[13] *Text Book of Psychology*, p. 459.

[14] F. R. Barry, *The Relevance of Christianity*, p. 16.

that He was saying some things to me which I did not wish to hear. There was a side of the divine reality which was unwelcome to me, and some divine commandments the obligatoriness of which I was most loath to acknowledge. And the reason why I was loath to acknowledge them was that I found them too disquieting and upsetting, involving for their proper obedience a degree of courage and self-denial and a resolute re-orientation of outlook and revision of programme such as I was not altogether prepared to face."[15]

Intellectual difficulties concerning the Christian way of life are often the belated rationalization of conclusions to which we have already been led by our desires. In the words of one who has had a long pastoral experience, " We can find reasons and reasons why Christianity cannot be true, if we are looking for them. But they are generally shelters from some moral challenge."[16] The place of the intellect in Christianity, however important or indispensable, is not primary. Christianity is an adventure of friendship, and not only an intellectual enquiry. Like friendship, it is capable of being intellectually formulated, up to a point at any rate, but primarily it is an experiment in living to be tried. And that experiment cannot even be begun apart from a decision and an effort of will.

One of the greatest teachers of the last fifty years tells us what, in his view, Christianity really means. " A certain view of the world, a certain way of meeting its calamities, a certain course of meeting its perplexities, a certain kind of valuation of its good and its evil, a certain attitude of forbearance and forgiveness, in short, a certain way of being conquerors over life's ills and antagonisms."[17] Writ large all over this passage we may discern the truth which the whole of life illustrates and enforces : the importance of a disciplined will. When the Christian view of the world is rejected, and the Christian way of life is declined, we have all too much reason for suspecting that the cause may be in the will, even more than in the intellect or the emotions.

[15]Dr. John Baillie, *Our Knowledge of God*, pp. 54-56.

[16]Dr. James Reid, *The Springs of Life*, p. 208.

[17]John Oman, *The Paradox of the World*, p. 81.

REVIEWS

The reviews are in four divisions :

Theology and relevant studies : works of scholarship ranging from dogmatic theology and church history to psychology and cosmology.

Religion, life and work : books concerned with the daily application of religion and its popular exposition.

Miscellanea, a limited selection from current general literature.

Periodical publications.

The name of the writer of two or more consecutive reviews is printed after the last one only.

THEOLOGY

AND RELEVANT STUDIES

Church Dogmatics. By Karl Barth. Volume II. The Doctrine of God. Part I. x + 699 pp. T. and T. Clark. 55s.

God the Holy Father. By P. T. Forsyth. vii + 148 pp. Independent Press. 9s. 6d.

This latest instalment of the English translation of Barth's *magnum opus* is weighty both in bulk and significance. Representing the first part of the author's treatment of the doctrine of God, it is not only of cardinal importance by virtue of its place in the systematic deployment of Barth's theology, but is also intrinsically valuable by reason of the nature of its content. For example, here, in the context of a discussion on our knowledge of God, is Barth's extended, reasoned defence of his rejection of natural theology as the proper concern of the Christian theologian. This characteristic Barthian contention has not found wide acceptance. But here, as everywhere else, Barthians and non-Barthians alike will greatly profit by a careful study of what Barth has to say. In particular they will be grateful for the penetrating and very moving section in which Barth recalls and interprets the historic Barmen declaration of the Confessional Church in Germany. This Barth places not only in its immediate context —the struggle against Hitler and the 'German Christians'—but also against the background of 19th century theology. The second main section of the volume expounds the Reality of God as the Being who loves in freedom. A review much more extended than this would fail to convey the extraordinary depth and richness of Barth's treatment of this majestic theme. Specially noteworthy is the brilliant critical survey of the influence of personalistic philosophies on 19th century theology. For Barth the paradox of the nature of God is not the logical tension between an impersonal Absolute and a finite personality, but " the paradox of His grace and our lost condition."

In the latest volume to be added to the republished writings of P. T. Forsyth, his daughter has collected and rearranged certain sermons and other shorter pieces so that they form " a system of theology in small compass " and in introduction to the larger works. In this she has been markedly successful. For here is the essential Forsyth, and no better introduction to his thought could be conceived. Many of us have cherished the little books, now long out of print, that form the substance of this volume. At the beginning stands that famous Congregational Union sermon *The Holy Father*, which preached over sixty years ago was a theological landmark then and still exerts its influence among us even now.

Its complement *The Living Christ* is also to be found in this volume, together with the sermons and addresses originally published under the title *The Taste of Death and the Life of Grace* and *Christian Perfection.*

H. F. Lovell Cocks.

The Wrath of the Lamb. By Anthony Tyrrell Hanson. 249 pp. S.P.C.K. 25s.

Dynamics of Faith. By Paul Tillich. 127 pp. Allen and Unwin. 9s. 6d.

God and Us. By Jean Daniélou. 203 pp. Mowbrays. 22s. 6d.

The urgent need of Systematic Theology at the present time is to heal the breach between biblical theology and philosophical reflection. Here are three books, which, taken together, may help to do this.

Dr. Hanson's book is a piece of sustained biblical analysis which will be found immensely valuable even by those who do not share his conclusions. He believes that there is a definitely New Testament doctrine of the wrath and that this doctrine finds its climax and deepest expression in the Book of Revelation. The wrath is primarily the consequence of men's sins worked out in history and consummated in the Parousia, and that Parousia is conceived of as a showing up of the real state of affairs and not merely a passing of a sentence. The wrath is revealed on the Cross as the most terrible consequence of the most terrible sin ; and the rejection and crucifixion of the Messiah (and the subsequent persecution of the Church) effect in themselves judgment on those who brought them about.

Professor Paul Tillich is a standing rebuke to a false biblicalism, yet he himself falters at the central point in theology for want of a firm holding to that which the Bible alone can give. These clear, illuminating and thought-provoking lectures on what faith is and is not, and the discussion of symbols, types and the truth of faith should help to broaden the mind of any convinced Christian ; and they may waken the thoughtful non-Christian to think that faith is a word which can become a deep reality to himself. Yet in the last resort, though deeply influenced by the Bible, Professor Tillich seems to believe in the unknown God of neo-Platonism rather than in the revealed God of the Bible : " The only infallible truth of faith, the one in which the ultimate self is unconditionally manifest, is that any truth of faith stands under a yes-and-no judgment " (p. 98). Apparently for him the ultimacy of the Christian Gospel is that it knows that it is not ultimate. Surely this will not do ; but Professor Tillich has still a lot to teach us.

It is, however, Fr. Daniélou, a Roman Catholic, who integrates most successfully the Bible and philosophic reflection. His survey of the knowledge of God deals generously with what the true God can teach us through other religious and metaphysical enquiry ; and when he comes to expound biblical faith, in spite of his tilt at Luther (p. 99), Protestants will want to say 'Amen'. And if we are not wholly on his side in his controversy with Cullmann on 'the God of the Church', how much he illuminates us in the process !

H. Cunliffe-Jones.

Faith and Knowledge. By John Hick. xix + 221 pp. Cornell U.P. ; London, O.U.P. 28s.

Dr. Hick, now at Cornell University after a ministry at Belford Presbyterian Church in Northumberland, has written " a modern introduction to

the problem of religious knowledge." In two introductory chapters he banishes the spectre of the infallibilist view of knowledge ; he treats 'belief' as the generic term for all cognising and draws attention to modern discussion of its 'dispositional' structure ; he then asks us to " treat the term 'knowledge' as a diploma word, awarding it to that kind or aspect of cognition which is for us final and normative " (p. 13). The question then is whether 'faith', meaning awareness of God, can be displayed with a structure which has formal continuity with the rest of rational experience. Attention is drawn to three influential accounts of the matter : voluntarist theories like those of W. James and F. R. Tennant ; theories which relate faith directly to moral experience (Kant, improved by D. M. Baillie) ; and Newman's account of the 'illative sense'. The hazards are exposed, but he is more tender to Newman than to the voluntarists, and his own line runs forward from Newman to John Oman. After clarifying his precise use of the terms 'significance' and 'interpretation', he gives the core of his own theory on pp. 127-133. " As ethical significance interpenetrates natural significance, so religious significance interpenetrates both ethical and natural " (p. 127). " Our knowledge of God is thus, like all knowledge of our environment, an apprehension reached by an act of interpretation ; but it differs from the rest of our knowing in that in this case the interpretation is uniquely total in its scope " (p. 165). The second clause here reflects the need to refer in detail to contemporary argument about the logic of religious assertions. A chapter about this is followed by one which draws out internal coherence in the story, despite the fact that religious awareness is less obviously a universal feature of human rationality than is ethical awareness or natural awareness. The last chapter exhibits Christian faith as an instance of religion which goes to confirm the analysis. The book will delight readers whose prescription for religion is the 'theological humanism' represented by the last chapter, the limitations of which were ably diagnosed by Dr. Lovell Cocks in *By Faith Alone.*

Insight : A Study of Human Understanding. By B. J. F. Lonergan. xxx + 785 pp. Longmans. 63s.

This weighty book comes from a Canadian author who is a Professor at the Gregorian University in Rome. It demands from the reader all that Kant demanded except that it is written with freshness and charm. The author provides his own summary injunction : " Thoroughly understand what it is to understand, and not only will you understand the broad lines of all there is to be understood but also you will possess a fixed base, an invariant pattern, opening upon all further developments of understanding." This injunction is pressed through 600 pages which serve admirably to make rational self-consciousness " take possession of itself " over the fields of natural knowledge, self-knowledge, metaphysics and ethics. In the last hundred pages the special questions about religious knowledge come up on to a well-prepared stage. " Can man know more than the intelligibility immanent in the world of possible experience ? If he can, how can he conceive it ? If he can conceive it, how can he affirm it ? If he can affirm it, how can he reconcile that affirmation with the evil that tortures too many human bodies, darkens too many human minds, hardens too many human hearts ? " W. A. Whitehouse.

Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus. By Merrill F. Unger. 189 pp. James Clarke. 21s.

The political history of the northern kingdom of Israel, from the time of Jeroboam I down to the Fall of Samaria, frequently involves questions

concerning the relationship between it and its north-eastern neighbour Aram or Syria, with its capital at Damascus. Our familiarity with the history seen from the Israelite side makes it very valuable to have here a survey—beginning much further back—of the varying fortunes, and different rulers, of that rival kingdom. The opening two chapters cover what is known of the origins of Damascus, and the period, before the time of David and Solomon, when her peoples were, in varying degree, under the control of Egypt and in contact with other powers of the second millennium. The same imperial weakness which made possible the rise of the Hebrew kingdom under David and Solomon gave the opportunity for the Aramaeans to establish monarchies in various areas and, most important, in Damascus. The succeeding chapters trace the varied relationships between the Aramaeans and the people of the northern kingdom of Israel down to the moment of the overthrow of both by the Assyrians.

The book is not easy to read, for a vast mass of information is crowded into a little over a hundred pages of text. There are many proper names ; chronological problems are complex (a chronological table would help) ; place names abound and the three maps could perhaps be improved to give a clearer indication of the localities involved. The rest of the book is footnotes, in which much useful information is concealed. An index of Biblical references would have been useful, and the general index might have been rather fuller. But the book provides a fascinating commentary on a vital period of Old Testament history, and not unnaturally evokes the reflection that while Israel's faith and life is vivid and real in the Biblical record, that of Damascus has to be pieced together and remains inevitably shadowy and uncertain.

The Exilic Age. By C. F. Whitley. 160 pp. Longmans. 16s.

The temptation, in dealing with the Old Testament, to make a break at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., and so to divide neatly between pre-exilic and post-exilic, is one which mars many treatments of both history and religion. It is valuable therefore to have a book which treats of the Exilic Age as a whole, outlining its history and conditions, pointing to aspects of contemporary politics and thought, and presenting a picture of the three great prophets—Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Second Isaiah. That the Exile marks a turning-point in Old Testament thought must be evident ; but such crucial moments are unintelligible apart from what precedes and follows, and there is much here that will enliven the understanding of the Old Testament material for the reader.

The book has, however, certain weaknesses ; much in it is over-simplified. The historical survey of chapter 2 is hardly adequate to the complexity of the period. Too great a stress on the individual appears in the Jeremiah and Ezekiel sections. Ezekiel's vision of the future is hardly dealt with, and yet this provides a counterpart to his teaching on individual responsibility. The Servant is most sketchily dismissed. Tracing influences on the Old Testament from outside is a familiar activity ; yet one wonders whether Second Isaiah had any direct knowledge either of Zoroastrianism or of the Ionian philosophers.

An Introduction to the Apocrypha, based on the Revised Standard Version. By Bruce M. Metzger. 274 pp. Oxford U.P. 28s.

The simultaneous appearance of the R.S.V. of the Apocrypha and of this book was an excellently contrived arrangement, and there are many

who have read with pleasure from the Old and New Testaments in the R.S.V. who will eagerly take up the Apocrypha and hope to re-discover—or even to discover for the first time—what it has to offer. The difficulties which face the reader of the Apocrypha make it all the more desirable that a handbook should be available as a guide. Yet it can hardly be said that this book meets our expectations.

A too brief introductory chapter touches on the term 'Apocrypha' and on the canon of the Old Testament. One hundred and forty pages are then devoted to the separate books or groups of material, which allows about ten pages to each substantial book. This in itself would not be an unreasonable allocation, but on average about half this space is devoted to summaries of the books, which could be much condensed and allow a more adequate discussion of literary, historical and theological problems. The remainder of the book is devoted to a quite useful chapter on the Apocrypha and the New Testament; to an account, also useful though sketchy, on the Apocrypha in the Church, and finally a rather scrappy account of the influence of the Apocrypha in which much space is devoted to lists of paintings in various art galleries.

This is an expensive book, and the reader is not given what he ought to expect. Real introduction is at a minimum. Treatment of certain topics—e.g. the story of the three guardsmen in I Esdras—seems to indicate the author's lack of familiarity with recent literature. Adequate discussions of the significance of the books are not provided. Most obviously lacking is any note of commentaries on individual books.

P. R. Ackroyd.

Unknown Sayings of Jesus. By J. Jeremias, translated by R. H. Fuller. 110 pp. S.P.C.K. 10s.

Beyond The Gospels. By R. Dunkerley. 170 pp. Penguin Books. 3s. 6d.

The subject of the 'unknown' sayings (i.e. not found in the canonical Gospels) of Jesus has been bedevilled by the fact that most discussions of it are either uncritical or concerned merely with the question of authenticity. Prof. Jeremias picks out of roughly one hundred sayings that occur twenty-one which in his judgment are as genuine as any in our Gospels. These he provides with exposition which fulfils his object of enabling readers to share something of the experience of those who first heard Jesus.

Dr. Dunkerley's Pelican takes a wider sweep. It brings together all the words of Jesus outside the Gospels, i.e. in the rest of the New Testament and other Christian sources, including manuscript variations in the Gospels, pagan and Jewish authors, catacomb graffiti, the 'unknown' sayings, and even references in Moslem tradition. This is very comprehensive, and nothing seems to be overlooked.

Dr. Dunkerley agrees with Professor Jeremias that the material they survey does no more than supplement the canonical Gospels here and there, but he emphasises the fact that it confirms the historicity of Jesus.

Studies in the Fourth Gospel. Edited by F. L. Cross. Mowbray. 112 pp. 12s. 6d.

This is a collection of lectures given at an Anglican conference at Oxford in 1956. There is no unity of theme but much theorising and no little profit.

Dr. Dodd examines the Prologue in relation to Christian worship. The Logos-idea means rationality in worship, as contrasted with the numinous or ecstatic which are not distinctive of Christian worship. This chapter supplements, and corrects, two later ones, on Contemplation, and Faith and Vision in the Fourth Gospel. Professor Kilpatrick shows that this Gospel was much more influenced by the language of the Septuagint than by that of the Hermetic writings. Dr. Evans contributes a solid study of the meaning of 'loved' in the references to the disciple 'whom Jesus loved', and J. N. Sanders is bold enough to identify this disciple with Lazarus, whose writings were eventually published by John of Ephesus, the author of *I—II—III John and the Apocalypse*, who is referred to in the Gospel at xx.2. Mr. Simon's study of Eternal Life in the Fourth Gospel contains many subtle comments. Mr. Parker indicates how it influenced Barth.

The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon. Introduction and Commentary by C. F. D. Moule. 169 pp. C.U.P. 21s.

This is the first volume of the Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary, a new series under the general editorship of Professor Moule, in continuation of the Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges.

This volume is marked by precise scholarship united to reverent appreciation that is beyond the criticism of the most apprehensive literalist. Occasional remarks on relevance for the present day are most impressive. Professor Moule enjoys grammatical niceties and the subtler shades of meaning, but his exactness is made to serve true exposition, and there are many new suggestions about the meaning of a passage or single word ; e.g. on Christ's sufferings, 1.24 (but why no reference to *I Thess.* 3.3?) ; on mystery, 1.26 ; bodily, 2.9. At 3.14 (bond of perfection) reference is made to 1.17, to yield the thought of Christ as the principle of cohesion both in the external universe and in the redeemed society. Moule has a way of setting out with all scholarly precision the possible interpretations of a verse ; and he is more intent on holding the balance fairly than on indicating his own preferences. An example of the freshness of his interpretation is at 2.14, where the 'handwriting' is taken to mean an I.O.U. : " I owe God obedience to his will. Signed, Mankind."

St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians. By W. Neil. 151 pp. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

This Torch Commentary gives sound and vigorous exposition with a marked ability to find contemporary equivalents for Paul's terms ; e.g. to describe the 'disorderly' in terms of absenteeism. The eschatological passages are brilliantly expounded, and related to the fundamental Christian conviction about the saving purpose of God revealed in Christ. At the same time Dr. Neil admits that the detailed interpretation of the Antichrist passage (*II Thess.* 2) is impossible. The Introduction is mainly descriptive and keeps the question of authenticity in the background : " no solution is as adequate as the traditional view that Paul is the author of both Epistles." E. C. Blackman.

The Epistle of James (Torch Commentary). By E. C. Blackman. 159 pp. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

This is a new and fruitful approach to an Epistle which has long been a battlefield of controversy about its authorship, its early or late date, its

relation to the development of Christian thought and theology in the first century, and indeed its value at all. Mr. Blackman begins from recent studies of the catechetical material of the earliest Christian churches (as in Selwyn, Carrington, Hunter and Dodd) and sees *James* as an expression of the moral teaching and traditional ethical maxims which were current in early Christian circles. Mr. Blackman has done (as we expected) a thorough, a fresh, and a most interesting piece of exposition.

Introducing New Testament Theology. By A. M. Hunter. 160 pp. S.C.M. 10s. 6d.

Professor Hunter, in his preface, pictures " the pundits who will give my little book a superior smile and reach for Bultmann or Stauffer." He is over-modest. This is a little book, but a great book, written with the clarity, insight and eminent readableness of his previous books and is a fine companion volume to his *Introducing the New Testament.* In three parts—('The Fact of Christ', 'The First Preachers of the Fact' and 'The Interpreters of the Fact')—its theme is Salvation (as was this writer's *Unity of the New Testament*) which is 'three tensed'— past, present and future. Every part of the book is good ; it shows how the primitive evangel runs through the whole of the New Testament and how it developed ; it is rich in its observations, e.g. on the Kingdom and on the Church ; it is a most useful guide to present-day New Testament theological thinking but in digestible form ; it is full of preaching material ; and it is in every way a remarkably good introduction.

Jesus and His Coming. By J. A. T. Robinson. 192 pp. S.C.M. 15s.

When Christ Comes and Comes Again. By T. F. Torrance. Hodder and Stoughton. 192 pp. 12s. 6d.

" For some time the Cinderella of the Credal doctrines, the doctrine of the Second Coming of Christ has now returned to the forefront of theological discussion." So Dr. Robinson begins this exceptionally important study of the way in which the doctrine arose. Acknowledging the great value (usually underestimated) of Dr. T. F. Glasson's *The Second Advent*, Dr. Robinson propounds with full argument from the New Testament some statements with which all future workers in this field will have to come to terms. These for example : that there is no evidence that the *parousia* expectation formed part of the earliest strata of Apostolic Christianity though it is widespread throughout the New Testament ; that Jesus spoke not so much of a future coming from God as of a going to God and He did not envisage a second coming ; that visitation and vindication are two different categories ; that the eschatological event has been divided into two acts which find their rise in the speeches of Acts 2 and 3 respectively.

Professor Torrance's book consists of sixteen re-written sermons which are biblical and doctrinal. They are the kind of expositions of the Word of God for which the author has long pleaded and in which he corrects much that he discerns to be wrong in contemporary preaching.

W. Gordon Robinson.

Martin Luther : Road to Reformation. By Heinrich Boehmer. Trans. by J. W. Doberstein and T. G. Tappert. 449 pp. Thames & Hudson. 12s. 6d.

This well known German work has now become available in English. It gives a detailed account of the first half of Luther's life, from his birth

until 1521. It is complete and competent, and the work of translation has been well done. A. R. V.

Martin Luther's **De Servo Arbitrio**, which appeared in 1525, has been called "the embodiment of" his "reformation conceptions"; and by Professor Gordon Rupp "the finest and most powerful Soli Deo Gloria to be sung in the whole period of the Reformation." All thanks, then, to Dr. J. I. Packer and Mr. O. R. Johnston for their labour in providing a fresh, vigorous translation of it into English as **The Bondage of the Will** (James Clarke, 15s.). They have given their work finish by adding fifty pages of historical and theological introduction. Luther's work was in answer to a treatise on the freedom of the will by Erasmus, and the editors ask, "Has not Protestantism today become more Erasmian than Lutheran?" In their exposition of the relations between Erasmus and Luther it is good to see so much use made of P. S. Allen's monumental edition of Erasmus' letters—though Allen might have queried some of their versions of what Erasmus wrote and would certainly be grieved to find Luther's present-day champions as bitter, not to say scurrilous, towards Erasmus as Luther himself was. Granted that in theology generally, and in the problem of the will in particular, Luther saw deeper than Erasmus, it is a superficial misunderstanding to say that "Christianity to Erasmus was essentially morality." Erasmus' faith in the power of Christ to *transform* men's attitudes went far beyond 'morality'; and his perception that "that which is forced cannot be genuine, nor is any offering welcome to Christ unless it is voluntary" is as true as any of Luther's insights, and no less necessary for a full-orbed theology.

Bishop Lancelot Andrewes' **Preces Privatae**, of which a posthumous translation into English appeared in 1648, have long held a high place in the treasury of Christian devotion. Older readers will be familiar with Alexander Whyte's edition (1896). In a new selected edition, **The Private Prayers of Lancelot Andrewes** (S.C.M., 8s. 6d.), Dr. Hugh Martin mainly follows the versions by J. H. Newman and J. M. Neale. While some will regret the absence of the mosaic patterning of the page which reflected Andrewes' exquisite balances of phrasing, others may find that his prayers are less artificial than they supposed.

The sub-title of Professor G. D. Henderson's last and—alas!—posthumous book, **The Burning Bush** (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 30s.) is "Studies in Scottish Church History." No one was more familiar with this subject, its byways as well as its highways, than Professor Henderson, and he here brings together sixteen papers covering the last four centuries, all of them published before save two.

The 1957 Friends of Dr. Williams's Library Lecture, **Sir Robert Walpole, Samuel Holden, and the Dissenting Deputies** (London: Oxford University Press, 45s.), by Dr. N. C. Hunt, of Exeter College, Oxford, is a remarkable revelation, mainly from the Deputies' Minute-Book, of the way in which their first Chairman, Samuel Holden, *restrained* them from embarrassing Walpole's Government by petitioning for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Geoffrey F. Nuttall.

The Welsh Saints. 1640-1660. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall. 93 pp. University of Wales Press. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Nuttall has packed a great deal of scholarly investigation into this short historical digression into the byways of 17th-century religion and the early days of Nonconformity. In these three lectures delivered at

the University College of North Wales he has provided a concise account of the religion of three Welshmen or Anglo-Welshmen—Walter Cradock, Morgan Llwyd, and Vavasor Powell. Of the three Morgan Llwyd's name is the most familiar to Welshmen ; Cradock was the founder of the first Independent congregation in Wales (if Llanvaches in Monmouthshire is regarded as being in Wales) ; and both Llwyd and Powell, men of radical temper, were influenced by millenarianism and by the Quakers, who seem to have made considerable inroads into North Wales and the Borders. Of the three men it is perhaps Cradock who has most to say from the mid-17th-century to the mid-20th, for his writings breathe a quiet tolerance and liberalism of outlook which would go far as a contribution to the ecumenical discussions of our age, and his appraisal of the relative value of the Old and New Testaments might modestly teach a thing or two to contemporary 'biblicist' theologians. Cradock regretted the spirit which unduly emphasised the importance of church order as prior to genuine Christian charity and godliness, and has some amusing things to say about some women who were three times baptized in order to make sure that they had received proper baptism. As Dr. Nuttall rightly says, Cradock's principle is " where God hath left a latitude, let us take notice of it."

The pious *Innerlichkeit* of these three men left little impact on their time. Not until a century later, with the great revival led by Rowlands, Harries, and William Williams, did Nonconformity become a transforming religious, social and political influence in Wales.

Dr. Nuttall's admirable little monograph might have gained in interest had it been filled out, in its book form, with more biographical material, for, in spite of the chapter on background, we are given little clear information about the men themselves. GERAINT V. JONES.

Prince Charles's Puritan Chaplain. By Irvonwy Morgan. 220 pp. Allen & Unwin. 21s.

This biography of John Preston (1587-1628), Preacher at Lincoln's Inn and Master of Emanuel, may readily be judged an erudite and important treatise. It exposes the details of a period of puritanism on which (relatively) little has been written, and relies on an impressive list of documents. It contains many responsible judgments, including opinions on the dating of documents, which represent contributions to historical research.

The author's view that Preston is a political rather than a spiritual figure (p. 206) is well attested by the complexity of the narrative. Politics in the period 1610-28 are a grievously intricate subject, and one can hardly blame the author for the fact that his book is heavy going, with every page studded with proper names.

A few misprints ought to be noted : in the ascription of the Frontispiece, 'S. R. Owst' should be 'G. R. Owst' ; on p. 28, 'Theophilous' and on p. 30 'Cantabrigiensis' (for '-es') are doubtful.

But the book is indispensable to those who would understand the movements of politics and the development of the Puritan cause, in which Preston was a non-separatist leader, in this period. ERIK ROUTLEY.

Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine. 720 pp. Review & Herald Publishing Association, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

This is a clear and scholarly statement of Seventh-day Adventist belief compiled by a group of their leaders and teachers. The treatment is

detailed, and scriptural evidence is marshalled for all their views. It is shown where their beliefs are the same as those of other conservative Christians, and where they differ. The main points of difference are in their emphasis on the urgent significance of prophecies connected with the Second Advent, on the continued observance of Saturday as the Sabbath, and in their reliance on Ellen G. White as a modern prophet. They affirm believers' baptism by immersion, and they hold to conditional immortality. They are biblical literalists and their code of conduct is strict—alcohol and tobacco are eschewed. Even those who do not share their views will have to admit the sound biblical scholarship underlying this work, and scores of references to theological opinions of all shades give proof that they are well acquainted with points of view other than their own. A. R. VINE.

The Music of Christian Hymnody. By ERIK ROUTLEY. 308 pp. Independent Press. 30s.

It might be supposed that a history of the hymn-tune must either sacrifice comprehensiveness to readability or *vice versa*. Such a supposition does not survive the publication of the work which won the author his doctorate. To consult or to read, whether from specialized interest or from casual, this is a great and eminent book, and cheap at the price.

What makes such encyclopaedic learning palatable to the inexpert is partly the vitality of the writing. For example, "Chromatic harmony . . . has no inherent vice, but that if it be not sound counterpoint . . . it will sound like a man asking his neighbour, in accents appropriate to *King Lear*, to pass the mustard." Partly it is the fact that every judgment is clearly explained and fully substantiated. (There is a particularly luminous paragraph on p. 34 which begins as a comment on the modal positions of Genevan tunes and ends by explaining the very principles which distinguish a good melody from a bad.) The author is helped by the story itself, which, being one of development and confluence and possessing its own momentum, soon has one keenly wondering what the effect of the next tributary will be and what the scenery is like round the next bend. A further incentive to the reader is the way in which, throughout, changes in church order and temper are shown to bear upon musical history: the book provides, in the by-going, an illuminating and succinct account of the development of Protestant Christianity itself.

At the end are more than two hundred musical examples, which as well as vindicating the text provide in themselves a case-book of singular interest. Many are grouped and annotated so as to bring out the characteristics of a particular style, or composer, or *zeitgeist*; and it is fascinating to see how a single tune has developed, how tunes apparently dissimilar are in fact closely related, and how the genius of each age has almost always petered out into a lunatic fringe of experimental excess.

Only once in the four hundred years surveyed is the book guilty of *suppressio veri*. The composer of some of the most glorious of contemporary hymn-tunes is nowhere mentioned. CARYL MICKLEM.

Principles of Christian Worship. With Special Reference to the Free Churches. By RAYMOND ABBA. 196 pp. O.U.P. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Abba has provided us with an admirable summary of material already familiar to those who know the writings of scholars like W. D. Maxwell. The chapter headings will indicate the scope of this book:

Basic Principles ; Origins and Development ; The Ministry of the Word ; Public Prayer ; Church Praise ; The Sacraments.

Standing as he does in the orthodox Reformed tradition, Mr. Abba regrets the assimilation of Free Church worship to " decadent Anglican practice." He recalls us to the eucharistic norm of Christian worship. Even if there is no administration of the Sacrament, the main Sunday Morning Service should have the structure of the full service of Word and Sacrament.

All this is well said, and by this time widely accepted. It could, however, be persuasively argued that Anglican Morning and Evening Prayer (plus hymns and sermon) have far greater 'centrality' and 'objectivity' than is generally allowed. When Cranmer included in his revision of the pre-Reformation quire offices lessons from the Old and New Testaments, introductory prayers and closing intercessions; he provided the Reformed Church in England with what was virtually a new and distinctively Protestant form of worship.

This form has had a profound influence on the worship both of the Established Church and the Free Churches. It may be open to much criticism ; but greater justice needs to be done to it. A book written with special reference to the Free Churches might have given greater and more sympathetic attention to this characteristically English form.

The Autumn 1957 issue of **Religion in Education** (S.C.M. Press, 3s. 6d.) is devoted to the subject of worship, and contains some useful and informative articles on Theological Assumptions and Origins of Christian Worship, on worship in Secondary and Primary Schools, and on Visual Aids in Worship. Dr. Basil Yeaxlee, who has handed over the editorship of this terminal review to Clifford M. Jones, reviews a number of books on worship. JAMES M. TODD.

Mysticism, Christian and Buddhist. By D. T. Suzuki. 214 pp. Allen and Unwin. 13s. 6d.

Mysticism is a term as wide open as the heavens. To some, it is the heart of religion : to others, it is anathema. John Wesley was among the latter : " The mystics are the most dangerous enemies of Christianity—they stab it in the vitals." Even Mr. Suzuki, taking the writings of Meister Eckhart as his basis for Christian mysticism, confesses that he seems to be an extraordinary 'Christian', and his Christianity unique. It certainly makes his task easier in finding points of agreement between the two religions, as also does his taking Mahayana Buddhism from his side. But this is a remarkable book by a remarkable thinker. His exposition of time and eternity is well worth studying by any religious student. The many quotations from Mahayana Buddhist writers opens one's eyes to an inner religious experience that cannot be denied.

Buddha and Buddhism. By Maurice Percheron (translated by Edmund Stapleton). 191 pp. Longmans. 6s.

This is one of the 'Men of Wisdom' series which already includes St. Augustine, Master Eckhart and St. Paul. Interest in Buddhism has been revived recently in the West, perhaps by the closer contacts since the war with the Far East. This book is excellent, and a big advance on the usual text-book. It is written in a very sympathetic and understanding way, and the exposition of difficult philosophical concepts makes reading a delight. Buddhism is seen against its background as a living religious

movement, from the first chapter on Pre-Buddhist India to the Sixth Council at Rangoon in 1954. Starting from the practical problem of the nature, causes and cure of human suffering, Buddhism is seen developing into a cosmic philosophy, unified by the search for the intangible that lies behind all reality.

Master Eckhart and the Rhineland Mystics ('Men of Wisdom' series). By Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache (translated by Hilda Graef). 190 pp. Longmans. 6s.

Whatever we may think of mysticism, Eckhart, we must admit, is an important character and has had and still has a wide influence in religious circles. His writings are not easy to understand. To anyone who expects words to mean exactly what they say, Eckhart seems often to deify man beyond all limits justifiable within Christianity. The Papal Bull that condemned him did so on the ground that "he wanted to know more than was fitting." But this book is the best I have come across, and is by a distinguished French literary figure. It is marked by close examination of his works, and exact scholarship.

The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church. By Vladimir Lossky. 252 pp. James Clarke. 16s.

This is an authoritative work on the mystical theology of a great church of the East which has had little effect, as yet, upon the theology of the West. The author writes from within, and with a deep and wide knowledge of his subject and a burning love for the great history of his church. He has produced a book, the study of which would helpfully broaden the outlook of western theologians. He not only expounds the central themes of Orthodox theology but also reveals, from his standpoint, the root causes of the divergence between Eastern and Western Christendom, criticising the West for certain assumptions that give rise to misunderstanding.

The Living of These Days. The autobiography of Harry Emerson Fosdick. 319 pp. S.C.M. 25s.

This famous preacher and writer, typical of the best in Liberal Christianity, here tells in his own inimitable way the story of his life. It is a great story told in a great way by a great man. Now nearly 80 years of age, he looks back on the struggles and triumphs of his days. His impact was not just on America, but world-wide—his appeal shown by the millions of copies of his books sold, and by many translated into foreign languages. His day is over. Though we must still hold fast to the great gains of the liberal theology he represented, there are newer insights now before us in neo-orthodoxy which even he will not altogether deny. But he looks beyond. His final words on this are : "Liberalism cannot remain as it was 50 years ago. Neo-orthodoxy cannot remain as it is today. There will be a synthesis." H. V. MARTIN.

The Meaning of Persons. By Paul Tournier. S.C.M. 234 pp. 21s.

For some years we have been acquainted with Jung's concept of the persona, which represents that part of the human personality that resides on the surface and is known to others. Dr. Tournier, whilst utilising the same concept, uses another word, 'personage', and proceeds in his book to grapple with the problem of how it "is inextricably bound up with the

person, in spite of the fact that we always tend to think of the role we play as different from what we are in reality." The personage of man is the product of his physiological mechanisms and his psychological patterns, all of which are conditioned by heredity and environment. They may vary widely from one individual to another, but they nevertheless are the media through which the real self or person makes contact with the outer world. It is good that each one of us should know what the nature of his media is, but we fail in the true art of dialogue if we confine our knowledge of others to their 'personage', and shirk the harder task of reaching beyond it to the real self within them. According to the author of this most stimulating book, human relationships are too frequently on the level of information about the 'personage' and not on that of communication with the inner self. This view of man and human relationships presupposes a dichotomy which can only be fully explained on philosophical and religious grounds outside the realm of psychology ; for it would appear that the life force is divided at some point—one part remaining true to its nature, and the other conditioned both hereditally and environmentally, but serving the purposes of the former. The inner self alone communicates with God, and has the ability for communicating with that of another person. The more successful is man's communication with God, the better is he able to control the constituents of his own 'personage' and reach beyond that of others.

Victory Over Suffering. By A. Graham Ikin. 143 pp. Arthur James, Evesham, Worcs. 12s. 6d.

After first reading this book I felt that here again is another feast that feeds human egotism, a discipline that makes man over-conscious of his craving for happiness. For some time there has been an over-emphasis on this particular theme. What is now required is a treatise that will encourage man to abandon himself in living for others, regardless of the cost to himself whether in terms of happiness or of some other return. However, a second reading convinces me that Miss Ikin has written for those who have as yet no clear appreciation of what self-abandonment means. She always writes with an urgency to help people with personal problems, and she presents them with good and useful advice. Men and women are frequently encountering emotional and spiritual difficulties, and the author shows how they can best succeed in winning through to victory. Her chapter on " The Spiritual Factor in Healing " is the longest in the whole book ; at this one is not surprised, because Miss Ikin has long been interested in this subject. Many readers will doubt the claims made by those whom she quotes but, taking the book as a whole, it contains thoughts that are worth pondering over, for they can enrich one's relationships with others and with God.

A Reporter Finds God Through Spiritual Healing. By Emily Gardiner Neal. 190 pp. Longmans, Green and Co. 10s. 6d.

The production of this book is not to justify Spiritual Healing, but to proclaim a faith that has been won through it. The author, an agnostic for many years, " was firmly convinced that the answers to the world's mysteries would ultimately be found in the scientific field." But her recent experiences have eventuated in a belief " that there exists an immense spiritual world as yet untapped." Enthused by what she had observed of Spiritual Healing, the writer proceeded to investigate as many cases as she could obtain access to. In Chapter 4 she presents a random

selection from hundreds in her files. Doubtless a decided change was wrought in her attitude towards all that Christianity stands for, and her polemical reactions against faint-hearted believers are extremely stimulating; but that does not mean that one can agree with all that she has written. Whether she has drawn the correct deductions from what she has observed is difficult to tell, because from a clinical standpoint her case reports are too brief for one to assess in fairness to her argument or to those of the medical profession who hotly dispute the claims of Spiritual Healers. Nevertheless, the author has written with sincerity and fervour, indicating a faith covering a greater area than that occupied by Spiritual Healing.

W. E. Sargent.

Evolutionary Theory and Christian Belief. By David Jack. 128 pp. Methuen. 10s. 6d.

This is a short summary of evolutionary theory written in non-technical language and is designed to show those points of conflict which still exist between it and Christian belief. Biological theory has been sadly neglected and often misunderstood by Christian apologists. Dr. Jack's book fills a gap, empty far too long, in the discussion between Science and Religion with his clear analysis of rival evolutionary theories, his discussion as to whether the course of evolution has been random or determined and his appraisal of the difficulties in evolutionary ethics together with the difference between man and other animals. He seeks always to separate the scientific from the non-scientific, warning scientists to make clear when their claims are scientific or philosophical. "The claim for which Darwinism stands, that man has evolved wholly by natural means, is a philosophical and not a scientific claim."

One warning must be given. Dr. Jack in more than one place seems to be giving the concept of 'Laws of Nature' an objective reality which it does not possess in modern scientific theory. He writes, "Science . . . cannot refute miracles, since these by definition are outside the laws of nature." Here Dr. Jack overlooks the fact that if something takes place in nature which is authenticated, as for instance, the Resurrection of Christ, then that event becomes a fact of nature, for which science must make allowance.

Jason S. Wright.

Society, Evolution and Revelation. By Jonathan Hanaghan. 224 pp. The Runa Press. 21s.

Here is the testament of an original and informed thinker, who takes the whole of modern knowledge for his province and constructs his own philosophy. It may help some who have not found satisfaction in more orthodox beliefs.

A. R. V.

RELIGION

LIFE AND WORK

Revelation in Christ. By Williams Nicholls. 158 pp. S.C.M. 15s.

Mr. Nicholls, who is the Anglican Chaplain to students in Edinburgh, had enthusiastic reviews for his first book on *Ecumenism and Catholicity*, and is likely to be well-reviewed for this book. But it is far from an easy book although it is designed for beginners in theology. It is a searching discussion of the place of revelation in our knowledge of God. That there has been a Christ-centred revelation the author is in no doubt and so the whole book is emphatically Christological. Metaphysical theism, he contends, cannot give us knowledge of God ; and God's existence and nature are not natural certainties for the human mind. Christianity, which is not 'one of the religions', is historical, 'particular', asserting that in certain concrete facts, especially in the life. death and resurrection of Jesus, God is revealed and revealed as a person who cannot be experienced from the standpoint of the detached observer but only from that of the committed disciple.

The Gospel of Mark, A Teacher's Commentary, by Richard Glover (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 17s. 6d.) is a welcome re-issue of a commentary written a long time ago but still of very great value to preachers. Its standpoint is that " the lean kine of critical explanation must not eat up the fat kine of practical observation " (so the late Dr. Glover himself) ; the exposition is full of deep spiritual insight, psychological penetration, and winsome evangelistic zeal.

John looks at the Cross by F. J. Huegel (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 8s. 6d.) is a chapter-by-chapter examination of the Fourth Gospel which emphasises the fact that John views every part of the Ministry of Jesus in the light of the Cross, or, put in another way, that the Cross is its deep undertone.

The Sunday Sermons of the Great Fathers translated and edited by M. F. Toal (Longmans, 16s. 6d. pocket edition, 30s. Library edition) is the first of four volumes which will cover the Gospels of the Sundays and the principal feasts. This volume goes from the first Sunday in Advent to Quinquagesima and gives selections from Thomas Aquinas's *Catena Aurea* of all the Fathers and then selected sermons from the best-known Fathers.

W. Gordon Robinson.

The Covenant People of God. By H. F. Wickings. 191 pp. Independent Press. 9s. 6d.

In tracing the account of God's Covenant through the Bible, from the 'Ten Words' given upon Horeb to the fulfilment of a New Covenant in our Lord Jesus Christ, Mr. Wickings pursues not simply the central proposition of Scripture but the most important theme in the world : responsibility towards God. When we consider that man's greatest struggle in this century is to remain human, this is exactly the kind of book with which Christians may clarify their minds and fortify their hearts for living. The book provides explanatory statement in fluent translation of Scripture, and its lucidity is further enhanced by four simple maps in colour.

The Will and the Way. A Study of Divine Providence and Vocation. By Harry Blamires. xi + 128 pp. S.P.C.K. 15s.

How does God act in human affairs today? In what way does He 'interfere' in our daily lives? In questions of this kind Mr. Blamires' study takes its origin. Such inquiries are sometimes made without hope of reply, but this book presents a robust and clear picture of the ever-active and inescapable God who operates as a man among men, and calls upon us to act with him.

Holy is His Name. Studies in the Problem of Evil. By Norman Hook. 69 pp. Epworth. 3s. 6d.

The Dean of Norwich considers that nearly every genuine reason which keeps people outside the Church relates in some way to the problem of evil. His lectures, which bear in print the marks of the spoken word, aim at helping those for whom faith in God and His goodness is difficult. Generally speaking, the author's reply hovers between Christian freedom and grace on the one hand and, on the other hand, Dualist good and evil existing in heterogeneity. The book has many sound and wise things to say, but its occasional looseness of thought raises further problems and leaves an unsatisfactory impression of the whole.

God's Provision for Holy Living. By William Culbertson. 112 pp. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 8s. 6d.

This I Believe. By Ivor Powell. 222 pp. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 10s. 6d.

A Galaxy of Saints. By Herbert F. Stevenson. 158 pp. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 12s. 6d.

It is to be hoped that members of the Congregational Evangelical Revival Fellowship are readers of the *Quarterly*, for the standpoint of the three books noticed here will command their particular attention. The authors base their understanding of the Christian faith upon a belief in the verbal inspiration of Scripture.

God's Provision for Holy Living was the theme of a series of addresses delivered at the 1957 Keswick Convention by Dr. Culbertson, who is president of the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. Divine provisions for the Christian life include the Word of God, the chastisement of the Father, the cross of Christ, our union with Christ, our Lord's present ministry, the return of our Lord, the creation of the new man, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

This I Believe is a product of "Question Time," a feature of the author's evangelistic crusades in Australia and New Zealand. It is a statement of Mr. Powell's personal faith. And though his refusal to distinguish between *Logos* and *biblos* leads occasionally to curious reasoning, his evidently sincere book displays robust humanity and saneness.

A Galaxy of Saints, by the editor of *The Life of Faith*, contains three series of studies of lesser-known or only briefly-mentioned characters who appear in the biblical story. Paucity of data concerning many of them determines the devotional rather than expository interest of the book, and sometimes forces the author to generalize about the functions of his subjects rather than treat of their characters The book is written fluently and clearly.

Garment of Praise. By Helen Frazee-Bower. 95 pp. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 10s. 6d.

This is a collection of sonnets and lyrics written by an American author. They are Romantic in character, inasmuch as they are a mixture of Christianity with poetic sentiments which often describe selected natural phenomena : the sun-splashed or rain-drenched earth, and the light-fingered winds. The author has been paralyzed since 1955 when she was struck down by a motor car ; these verses bear testimony to her brave spirit which handicap could not imprison nor suffering embitter ; they cover a wide range of human experience, and seek in all things to exalt Christ.

Conrad Bonifazi.

The publisher's blurb described **A Crown of Thorns** by J. Wilson Richmond (St. Andrew Press, 8s. 6d.) as "an Easter play of unusual quality and power." Your reviewer, however, found it lacking in insight and clumsily written. Even in a stage direction it is curious to find a phrase like "their fears are subsided by. . . ." The speeches of the principal characters more often sound like the reflections of the author than the words of Pilate or Caiaphas.

The Divine Mission. By James Sutherland Thomson. 81 pp. Ryerson Press & United Church Publishing House, Toronto. 8s. 6d.

Gone are the days when the thought of millions toppling into Hell gave urgency to the missionary task of the Church. Dr. Thomson sees the Christian faith as inherently missionary, and derives its character from the initiative of God Himself in seeking for man. This view is of course fairly widely accepted today, but Dr. Thomson restates it concretely and persuasively.

Not since I first read the late Bernard Manning's *A Layman in the Ministry* have I come across such fresh and vital sermons as are to be found in **Faithful Sayings** by C. R. B. Shapland (Epworth, 8s. 6d.). I was particularly intrigued by two sermons on unlikely texts from the Old Testament. I don't mean by this that the exegesis was forced, but that the preacher saw far more in them than I had ever seen. Mr. Shapland's early death is a great loss to Methodism, and indeed to the whole Church.

With Colours Waving (Salvationist Publishing, 8s. 6d.) is an anthology of prose and verse written by members of the Salvation Army. As might be expected the Booths figure largely in it, but there is also a wealth of quotations from other writers.

The B.B.C. Woman's Hour Book (World's Work, 12s. 6d.) is like an old-fashioned Christmas cake—chock full of good things. Legal matters, gardening mysteries and sheer frivolity jostle one another in its pages. You can laugh with Jeanne de Casalis or grow serious with the mother who cares for a child with haemophilia. An excellent compilation.

Stay Alive All Your Life. By Norman Vincent Peale. 312 pp. The World's Work. 15s.

After reading this book I am not surprised that Dr. Peale exerts a great influence in the United States of America. His writing reveals him as a man of insight and understanding who is able both to diagnose and to cure many of the stress-diseases which afflict modern man.

This kind of book sometimes gives one the uncomfortable feeling that the author is substituting health for holiness as the one thing needful. Dr. Peale, however, does not make that mistake. While he believes that God means body and mind to function healthily, he sees that holiness is the condition precedent to all true health.

The Long Sunday. By PETER FLETCHER. 188 pp. Faber. 13s. 6d.

The author's Edwardian boyhood was spent in an East-coast town where his parents were members of the Wesleyan chapel. He is now a Harley Street consultant in psychology, and has brought his professional skill to the examination of the religious environment in which he was brought up.

He paints a picture of Nonconformity in its littleness. He exposes the narrowness and mediocrity of a religion which has lost the freedom and power of Christ. To him the adults around him appeared to be playing a game of "let's pretend." They enjoyed the emotional tension of the Evangelical Campaign, and felt the security of being "on the inside looking out." Their judgment as to what was permissible or not in life seems to him to have been arrived at on the basis of prejudices and assumptions rather than reason.

No doubt he describes accurately what he observed; but ugliness, like beauty, may be in the eye of the beholder. Self-righteousness can corrupt other people as well as the religious. What struck me about this book is that, except for one tribute to the fidelity of his parents in going to choir practices in bad weather, there is virtually no recognition of anything good in the life of the chapel. I cannot help feeling that his parents' own inconsistencies (which he has no compunction in displaying to view) have played a large part in shaping his attitude towards the religion they professed.

Despite the author's possible bias there is much here which must be recognised as being true. The self-centredness of many churches and chapels is all too obvious. Many religious groups spend the greater part of their energies in perpetuating themselves, and have no vision of the whole Church of God. Narrowness, small-mindedness and prejudice have managed to survive even two World Wars. Those who read this book will be made to ask themselves some searching questions about church life. If they are honest with themselves, they may hear some disturbing answers.

Thirty Years a Watch Tower Slave. By WILLIAM J. SCHNELL. 207 pp. Marshall, Morgan and Scott. 12s. 6d.

Jehovah's Witnesses are known to most people as determined canvassers on behalf of a queer religion. This book reveals that they are the dupes and instruments of a power-loving clique. The author tells the story of the way the International Bible Students, a millenarian sect founded by one Pastor Russell, were transformed by 'Judge' Rutherford and his successors into a totalitarian movement aiming at world government. Tightly organized and severely disciplined the Jehovah's Witnesses moved across the world selling the books which propagated their ideas and brought in their funds. In the United States of America they deliberately created issues which would involve them in disputes with the public, so that they might "raise the spectre of persecution." Their aim was to focus national attention on themselves.

The author was brought to the point where he broke with the Movement by reading the Bible for himself. He found that "love cannot express itself in such a sterile atmosphere" as that which surrounded the Jehovah's Witnesses, and so he escaped.

Calvary Covers All, by Frank Jennings (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 5s.) tells the story of the power of the Gospel to convert atheists, drunkards and down-and-outs. The author, known as 'the Tramps' Parson' because of his adventures on the road, is himself quite as interesting as any of those whom he describes.

In *The Daily Altar* (Independent Press, 15s.) Mr. Jennings has gathered stories old and new to provide illustrations for themes of prayer for every day in the year. Another book of prayers, of a very different kind, is **Knocking at God's Door** by Oswald Chambers (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 5s.). It consists of short ejaculatory prayers, expressing the passionate longing of the soul for God.

Books about evangelists abound today. **Billy Graham and the New York Crusade** by George Burnham and Lee Fisher (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 10s. 6d.) is another addition to the Graham build-up. Its slick journalism and advertising punch left me feeling as though I had been hit by a heavyweight.

The Crusading Taylors, by Norman E. Nygaard (World's Work, 3s. 6d.) tells the story of a family of evangelists who started their work in England before the first World War. They later campaigned in the U.S.A. and eventually settled there. I think the greatest character in this story was the mother who stayed at home and brought up a large family on faith and not much else.

Olive in China, by Bernard Watson (Salvationist Publishing, cloth 6s. 6d., paper 4s. 6d.) would have gained by being less self-conscious, but nevertheless it is a real-life 'thriller'.

Paul B. Smith in **Naked Truth** (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 7s. 6d.) writes on the Christian and the World, Marriage, Divorce, Television and other subjects. He takes the Bible literally and bases the Christian doctrine of marriage on the supposed fact that Eve was made from Adam's rib!

Crisis in Communication. By Malcolm Boyd. 128 pp. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

The author of this book is an American priest who before ordination worked in commercial radio. He is clear that the Church must use modern techniques for reaching men and women, but he is keenly aware of the dangers involved. The Church must beware of playing down the 'offence of the Cross' in the hope of capturing people through a sentimental appeal. The author has strong (but justifiable) things to say about the mixture of Bible and ballyhoo in such films as *Samson and Delilah*. He is right, of course, in suggesting that we should not blame the mass-media, but ourselves, for the misuse of the opportunities which they afford. The Church must be critical of what is offered, as well as thankful when it can use these media to communicate with the people.

In his last chapter on Point of Contact Mr. Boyd lists some modern experiments such as The Industrial Mission in Sheffield, the Zoë movement in the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Iona Community. This book is useful as an examination of the mass media, but it contents itself with being analytical.

Sir Wilfrid Garrett, formerly H.M. Chief Inspector of Factories, has given a balanced survey of relations between management and men in his " Chester Lecture " entitled **Changing Industrial Relations** (S.P.C.K., 2s.). It will come as a surprise to many to learn that working days lost from strikes and lockouts in 1956 were only one-twentieth of those lost in 1912. CHARLES HAIG.

Princess in Army Uniform by Cyril J. Barnes (Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, paper 3s. 6d., cloth 5s.) is a book containing 16 life stories of Salvation Army leaders both of the early and of modern times. This is inspiring material for use with 'teen-agers and it is presented with considerable skill.

Hobson's Choice by Rita Snowden (Epworth Press, paper 4s. 6d., boards 6s.) is slightly different. It contains 30 stories for boys aged 9-12 and is dedicated to the 'Life Boys' of the Boys' Brigade. I count Rita Snowden the ablest writer of Children's Addresses now practising, and it is enough to say that this book is as good as any she has written.

Old Testament Stories by Pauline Dower, Series One and Two (Oxford University Press, 6s. 6d. each) are really books made out of six 16 pp. pamphlets bound up together. Series One covers Adam to Joshua, and Series Two covers Saul to Nehemiah. The stories are told in a straightforward fashion, the books are beautifully printed and the illustrations are lively and faithful.

Harvest Sermons (Independent Press, paper boards 6s.) is a collection of sermons by nine well-known preachers—Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian. With perhaps one exception, the sermons are of the highest order. They are full of practical divinity, thoroughly Christian and stimulating in their thought.

The Preacher's Handbook—Number Five, edited by Greville F. P. Lewis (Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.) is even better value than its fine predecessors. The introductory articles are first-class, especially that by Prof. C. A. Coulson on 'Science and the Preacher'. There are four excellent study articles on Moses, Great Words, Church History and Missions, and there are two slabs of commentary on *Isaiah* 40-55 and *John* 1-4.

Into the Same Image by R. E. O. White (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 12s. 6d.) is a study of the Christian ideal of character and life. This means a close study of the Divine Pattern, Christ Himself, as the hope and goal of all our growth in grace. The result is a book which is Biblical, thorough and strong.

Mary Layton by Adelaide Ah Kow (Salvationist Supplies, paper 6s. 6d. cloth 8s. 6d.) is as well-written and interesting a missionary biography as

one will meet for a long time. From Yorkshire we are taken to the Falkland Islands, Newfoundland and China. Adolescent and adult will alike read this book with enjoyment.

Wilfred J. Southall by Kenneth H. Southall (Friends' Home Service Committee, paper 3s.) is the life story of a good man by his son. It will be of particular interest to those who are acquainted with Quakerism in Birmingham and the personalities who helped to make it great.

William Penn by Mabel R. Brailsford (F.H.S.C., paper 1s. 3d.) is as good an account as one can get of this remarkable life, compressed into 30 pp. It is well worth fifteen pence to be able to study a reproduction of the only authentic likeness of the great Quaker—dressed in full armour !

The Call and the Work Overseas by John Murray (Independent Press, paper 1s. 6d.) is fit to stand beside Leslie Tizard's fine pamphlet on the call to the home ministry. It has that same quality of devout good sense : it asks for a fair hearing : it is full of information. I doubt if such publications kindle a fire, but I am certain they feed it.

Resurrection (Churches' Fellowship for Psychical Study, paper 2s.) is a pamphlet by John Pearce-Higgins. It is a study of the Biblical account of the Resurrection of our Lord, adducing modern paranormal phenomena by way of elucidation and illustration.

Five Minutes to Twelve by W. B. J. Martin (Collins, 10s. 6d.) is in a way to be regretted. It was possible to read Peter Parson's Log so long as you wondered who on earth he was. Now we know, and are given more and larger slabs from the Journal. It is still entertaining. Once you start you have to read on. But we might wish that the cloak of anonymity had been retained.

In The Friendly Series H. L. Gee has two new titles, **Good Samaritans** and **Gallant Folk** (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d. each).

Now here is something new. We have had a bird's eye view and a worm's eye view of this and that. Here is a donkey's eye view of the life of the Holy Family and especially of that last week in Jerusalem. It is **The Donkey who always Complained** by Francis Beauchesne Thornton (The World's Work, 10s. 6d.). If you can face this kind of thing, this is beautifully done. JOHN WILDING.

Fifty Hymns by Charles Wesley. Selected by J. Alan Kay. Epworth Press. 72 pp. 7s. 6d.

This selection of hymns by Charles Wesley was made in celebration of the 250th anniversary of the hymn-writer's birth (December, 1957). It makes a very agreeable souvenir of the occasion, and non-Methodists might well find it a serviceable supplement to their own hymn book. Since the selection is taken entirely from the 1933 Methodist Hymn Book, and with one exception all fifty hymns are set to the tunes given in that book, the opportunity of reviving Wesley hymns unknown to modern Methodists has been lost ; and the choice of tunes is conservative. (The one exception to M.H.B. practice is 'O Thou who camest' to the tune *Hereford* : we gather

that this collocation is now regarded as good Methodist practice, and so it should be.) It is rather surprising that the book should so literally follow a standard book published 24 years ago, and break no new ground. But subject to that, the selection is judicious and nothing first-rate has been omitted. Exactly half of the 50 hymns are in *Congregational Praise.*

ERIK ROUTLEY.

There is much to be said for using hymns not only for public worship but also for private devotion. In **Begin with a Hymn** (Epworth Press, 8s. 6d.) Ida and Leslie Church have chosen a number of well-known hymns, one for each week. A devotional commentary is added to each hymn and short scripture passages are suggested for each day of the week.

JAMES M. TODD.

The Eyes of the Blind by Jill Harris and Ion Grunday; **The Shepherds' Message** by Nancy Martin; **A Thousand Years in Bethlehem** by Evelyn A. Downs. All published by the Religious Education Press Ltd. at 6d. each. Of these three Nativity Plays the first is by far the best. It tells the story simply and convincingly, and the dialogue is natural. The one false note comes with the introduction of a 'small angel' who gets left behind with the shepherds when the heavenly host has departed—rather as though Peter Pan had somehow strayed into the New Testament. Otherwise this is a moving and gentle little play which will delight the average congregation and parent. Whether it will persuade anyone to have another look at the meaning of the Incarnation is another matter. *The Shepherds' Message* is more ambitious but less successful. Here the story is enacted as a flash-back in a modern English home. The modern dialogue is good, but in the flash-back we get bogged down in that semi-Biblical language that is the curse of so much religious drama. This dialogue trouble is the worst feature of *A Thousand Years in Bethlehem*, an attempt to link dramatically the stories of Ruth, David and Jesus. Here whole chunks of the Bible narrative are scattered among the characters, with a little extra writing to smooth the transitions. The effect is not very happy. Did the people of Bethlehem really spend so much time telling each other what they all knew about the prophecies of the Messiah? This is so clumsy a way of informing an audience, and a travesty of dramatic dialogue.

STUART JACKMAN.

Also received:

Prophets of Judah. By ELSIE BROADIE. Religious Education Press. 6s. boards, 5s. limp.

From Prophecy to Law. By H. J. BULL. R.E.P. 6s. 6d.

The Call and the Work Overseas. By JOHN MURRAY. L.M.S. & Independent Press. 1s. 6d.

Teaching the Bible Today. By Trevor Hughes. R.E.P. 1s. 6d.

Agreed Syllabuses and Their Revision. R.E.P. 1s. 9d.

Fire Prevention and Fire Fighting in Churches. Fire Protection Association. 2s. 6d.

The Littlest Circus Seal. By MARY GEHR. The World's Work. 7s. 6d.

MISCELLANEA

What Kind of Education? A Conversation. By DONALD HUGHES. 96 pp. Epworth. 5s.

In this pleasant and informative little book the Headmaster of Rydal has imagined a fireside discussion, in the course of which most of the educational points of difference crop up—public schools, State control, specialisation, selection, and so on. The result might well be a muddle, but is skilfully turned into a useful text-book for group discussion.

The Idea of Liberal Democracy. By NATHANIEL MICKLEM. 138 pp. Christopher Johnson. 12s. 6d.

This is a curiously lifeless book to come from its lively author. Disclaiming originality of treatment, he says that pencil in hand he has tried to think out fundamentals and to apply to the present the views of the classic political theorists. What he neatly terms the 'niceties of evanescent issues' come off rather badly. The principles of Locke and Burke seem less important than their application to situations that neither of them could foresee. To take but one small case: " 'Whitehall knows best' is no principle for a free people." Perhaps not; but is this a relevant argument any longer, in a day of block grants?

Israel Zangwill. By JOSEPH LEFTWICH. 306 pp. James Clarke. 21s.

Readers of *Children of the Ghetto* will enjoy this careful and interesting biography, as will any who wish to discover the Jewish role in modern English culture. This able writer is now but a name to most of us, yet he devoted great literary skill to the portrayal of London Jewry and indeed to the fundamental relationship between Hebraic and Christian culture. The issues he touched on may be out of sight for the moment, but sooner or later they will be raised again, and some of his words may once more seem to have life in them.

The Wisdom of Balahvar. By D. M. LANG. 135 pp. Allen & Unwin. 15s.

That keen young scholar Mr. David Lang has here assembled the evidence for the transmission through Arabic and Byzantine channels of a medieval Christian story, of which he prints the first translation of a Georgian version. This incursion of Buddhist elements into a legend that Shakespeare knew (and used in the Casket scene of the *Merchant of Venice*) allows a fascinating glimpse into the clerical labours of more than one medieval monastery, and into a curious and ancient narrative that appears to be part of the folk literature of the Caucasus.

Man's Western Quest. By DENIS DE ROUGEMONT. 197 pp. Allen & Unwin. 15s.

M. de Rougemont is an important but hardly an easy writer, and his theme is more involved here than in previous works. He deserved a less wooden translator, but readers should not be put off by phrases that sound un-English or meaningless. There runs through this book an admirable awareness of our present cultural plight and a typical French blend of realism and generalisation. W. G. MOORE.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Hibbert Journal (January) includes a tribute to Gilbert Murray by I. S. R. Langdale; 'Salvation, Mithraic & Christian' by Prof. S. G. F. Brandon; 'Obstacles to Religious Belief' by K. G. Collier: (April) 'The South African Race Problem' by Prof. N. J. J. Olivier & Chris. Gell; 'Marriage, Divorce & the Church' by Warren Sandell; 'Whitehead & Ferré discuss God' by Prof. Wallace Gray.

International Review of Missions (April) includes 'The Christian Mission at this hour' by the Editor; 'Ghana Resolutions on Integration with W.C.C.'; 'The Christian Mission in Asia today' by U. Kyaw Than; 'The Christian Encounter with Buddhism in Burma' by U. Hla Bu.

Scottish Journal of Theology (December) includes reviews of the Report on Relations between Anglican & Presbyterian Churches by Prof. Norman Sykes, the Rev. Fr. Ed. Symonds & Prof. J. L. M. Haire. (March) 'The Christology of D. M. Baillie' by Prof. J. H. Hick; 'Luther's Conception of the Church' by the Rev. Cyril Eastwood.

Expository Times (February) includes 'Bertrand Russell, Rationalist & Christian' by Dr. H. G. Wood; 'Thomas Kelly, A Modern Mystic' by Prof. Nels Ferré. (March) 'The Confessions of S. Augustine' by Canon L. Du Toit; 'The Gospel of Truth' by Dr. C. K. Barrett. (April) 'Christian Doctrine & its Communication' by the Very Rev. F. W. Dillistone; 'Bro. Lawrence's *The Practice of the Presence of God*' by the Rev. Denis Lant; 'Retreats' by Canon F. Hood.

The London Quarterly & Holborn Review (April) is mainly occupied with articles on 'The State of New Testament Studies Today'.

The Baptist Quarterly (April) includes 'Baptists & the Ministry' by the Editor; 'Baptists & Religious Freedom' by Prof. J. D. Hughey; 'The Ministry in Historical Perspective' by the Rev. E. A. Payne.

Church Quarterly Review (January-March) includes 'Episcopal-Presbyterian Relations' by Dr. E. L. Mascall; 'The Doctrine of the Ministry in the Ecumenical Movement' by R. T. Halliday; 'The Two Backgrounds of Faith' by Fr. Hugh, S.S.F.

Frontier, edited by John Lawrence, incorporates *Christian News-Letter* and *World Dominion*. Its first issue in January includes the now famous suggestions on 'Limiting War' by Rear Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard. (April) 'Young Men are Not Angry' by Will Herberg; 'Ancient Religions in the Modern World' by H. Kraemer.

Theology (March) includes articles on the Ministry by Kathleen Bliss, Alan Richardson, Daniel Jenkins & John Wren Lewis. (April) 'Commentaries on *Acts*' by J. C. O'Neill. (May) articles on 'The Church & the Working Classes'.

New Testament Abstracts is a new record of current periodical literature issued thrice yearly by the Jesuits of Weston College, Weston 93, Mass. U.S.A., from whom it is available at 3 dollars annually. Its first two numbers are excellent.

Huntington Library Quarterly (November) has articles on and reproductions of drawings by William Blake, a splendid bicentennial issue.

Theology Today (January) includes 'The World in Ferment' by Kenneth J. Foreman; 'Ethical Relativism and Popular Morality' by W. Burnet Easton; 'European Industrial Life and the Bible' by E. H. Robertson.

Yale Review (Spring) includes 'The Eisenhower Economy and National Security' (2 articles); 'Old Truths and the New Conservatism' by Irving Kristol; 'Force and Foreign Policy' by Robert W. Tucker.

J.M.P.